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# Canons of Selection

## I

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SHOULD POSSESS IN SOME USEFUL FORM ALL BIBLIOTHECAL MATERIALS NECESSARY TO THE CONGRESS AND TO THE OFFICERS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE PERFORMANCE OF THEIR DUTIES.

## II

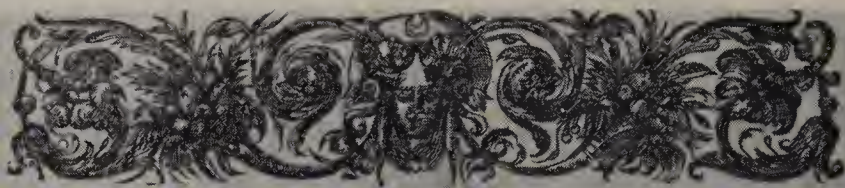
THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SHOULD POSSESS ALL BOOKS AND OTHER MATERIALS (WHETHER IN ORIGINAL OR IN COPY) WHICH EXPRESS AND RECORD THE LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

## III

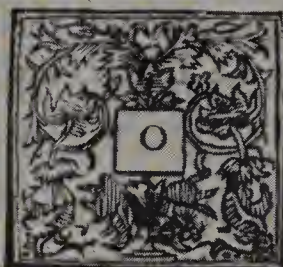
THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SHOULD POSSESS, IN SOME USEFUL FORM, THE MATERIAL PARTS OF THE RECORDS OF OTHER SOCIETIES, PAST AND PRESENT, AND SHOULD ACCUMULATE, IN ORIGINAL OR IN COPY, FULL AND REPRESENTATIVE COLLECTIONS OF THE WRITTEN RECORDS OF THOSE SOCIETIES AND PEOPLES WHOSE EXPERIENCE IS OF MOST IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

*From the Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress, 1940*





THE  
Fundamental Constitutions  
OF  
CAROLINA.



OUR SOVERAIGN LORD THE KING having out of His Royal Grace and Bounty, granted unto us the Province of *Carolina*, with all the Royalties, Proprieties, Jurisdictions, and Priviledges of a *County Palatine*, as large and ample as the *County Palatine* of *Durham*, with other great Priviledges; for the better settlement of the Government of the said Place, and establishing the Interest of the *Lords Proprietors* with Equality, and without Confusion, and that the Government of this Province may be made most agreeable to the *Monarchy* under which we live, and of which this Province is a part; and that we may avoid erecting a numerous *Democracy*, we the *Lords and Proprietors* of the Province aforesaid, have agreed to this following Form of Government, to be perpetually established amongst us, unto which we do oblige our selves, our Heirs and Successors, in the most binding ways that can be devised.

THE eldest of the *Lords Proprietors* shall be *Palatine*, and upon §. 1.  
the Decease of the *Palatine*, the eldest of the seven surviving *Proprietors* shall always succeed him.

There shall be seven other chief Offices erected, viz. the *Admirals*, §. 2.  
*Chamberlains*, *Chancellors*, *Constables*, *Chief Justices*, *High Stewards*,  
and



Number 3



# Records of the States of the United States

## A MICROFILM COMPILATION

IN 1941, under the joint auspices of the Library of Congress and the University of North Carolina, a project was undertaken to microfilm the official proceedings of legislative assemblies in a number of States. Interrupted by the war, the project was renewed in 1946 and has since continued with a program\* which has been expanded to include the statutory, constitutional, executive, administrative, and judicial records, as well as the legislative documents, of all the States. As a result, there can now be assembled a compendium of the official records of the States which will serve students as an encyclopedic documentary source book.

The films are being arranged at the Library of Congress, alphabetically, State by State. Within each State, the records are being classified according to a uniform scheme. Series of documents issued by separate governmental agencies will appear chronologically on separate reels of film in proper sequence. These series will be grouped into a number of segments of unified materials, each separable from the collection, but also closely integrated within the body of the microfilms. Thus the collection will be subject to a geographic breakdown into sections by States and also to a separation into various elements. In this way, the large documents deposit libraries will be able to acquire the entire

collection, while libraries serving smaller areas or specialized research fields may secure the particular sections of the film that meet their special research needs and activities. The films are not ready for distribution or use at this time. The Library of Congress will make known the terms by which they may be obtained as soon as they are available.

The regular categories into which the materials are being assembled are as follows: "A," Legislative Records; "B," Statutory Law; "C," Constitutional Records; "D," Administrative Records; "E," Executive Records; and "F," Court Records. In addition, there will be five special classes of materials rounding out the collection as follows: "L," Local Government Records—City and County; "M," Records of American Indian Nations; "N," Newspapers; "R," Rudimentary States and Courts; and "X," Miscellany. Each of these segments requires different internal organization on the reels of film and involves various problems relating to the nature of the material (whether printed or in manuscript, or both) and to the method of issue (whether in a regular chronological series or as non-serial occasional issues).

The microfilms that make up the collection aggregate some 1,200 rolls of film of 100 feet each, approximately 1,440,000 exposures, and 2,880,000 pages of text. Field work incidental to collecting and assembling the material has extended into

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\*A report on the work accomplished through 1946 appeared in the *Quarterly Journal*, May 1947, pp. 60ff.

each of the forty-eight States, and over the seven-year period from its original inauguration (twenty-four months of actual working time) has required approximately 55,000 miles of travel. During the search for materials, nearly all the official public and private repositories of the Nation's documentary resources were visited and such of their holdings as were needed in the program were microfilmed. The composite findings contributed by these resources, with the addition of those yet to be copied, will comprise the early official State documentary records known to be extant within the country.

The framework of Class A, Legislative Records, is divided into six integrated parts: Part 1, Journals, Minutes, and Proceedings of the two houses of the State legislatures; Part 2, Legislative Debates; Part 3, Committee Reports; Part 4, Hearings and Investigations; Part 5, Legislative Papers; and Part X, Miscellany.

In Class A, Part 1, an attempt has been made to assemble the proceedings of all legislative assemblies of the American Colonies, Territories, and States beginning with the earliest records extant and coming down to a terminal date which varies from State to State according to the general availability of these journals in the major documents collections. As a base, the entire colonial period was covered in each of the original States and the territorial period for the new States. Printed journals were copied wherever found, but before the time of printing in each of the Colonies and Territories the record remains only in the original manuscript journal. Again in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and South Carolina, journals were not printed until well up into the nineteenth century. There were also a number of sessions where for one reason or another no provision was made for the publication of the journals. In all cases where printed copies have not been located, the

record has been filled in from the original manuscript if extant. If not, then resort has been made to reports of the proceedings published in newspapers. As a result the two series of senate and house journals constitute practically a complete body of unified records.

Class A, Part 2—Legislative Debates—will include the extended verbatim record of legislative deliberations in States which from time to time have printed their debates in a form comparable to the *Congressional Record*. These for the most part have been occasional publications or have continued in series for a short period, except in Pennsylvania and Maine where the series are still current.

Class A, Part 3—Committee Reports—and Class A, Part 4—Hearings and Investigations—are categories of legislative records that do not lend themselves to a serial arrangement because of their irregular and uncertain issue. Class A, Part 5—Legislative Papers—which includes the loose sessional papers of various types not printed in the journals has not been comprehensively copied in a systematic way. The procedure followed in making up this category has been one of selecting from the loose papers only those that are needed to supplement the regular journals in order to complete the record. Class A, Part X—Miscellany—which closes each of the eleven principal classes provides a general "catch-all" for official records that defy the classification scheme.

Class B, Statutory Law, is divided into four parts: Part 1, Codes and Compilations; Part 2, Sessions Laws; Part 3, Special Legislation; and Part X, Miscellany. The aim in this class is to compile the whole body of statutory law of the States to form a kind of "Corpus legis" which will serve legal students as a companion tool to *Corpus juris*. The plan pursued has been to construct on microfilm in chronological series the statute law enacted contemporaneously



by each session of the legislatures of each of the States. This will make available to the legal profession a research source comparable for reference use to the commonly accessible State court reports.

Class B, Part 1, consists of the compiled and codified law of the States and includes abridgements of the law, collections of laws in special fields, codes, compilations, revisions, and digests. This part groups for the legal historian the classics of American statute law. The first of these editions in each Colony, Territory, and State formed the base for future enactment. Later ones show the status of enactment as of a particular time and reveal the results of reform in the basic system of the law in a particular jurisdiction.

Class B, Part 2—Session Laws—contains material of primary value to the legal historian and the antiquarian. But by no means is its value confined to them alone, for it possesses great utility for the legislator and the judge, as well as the law teacher and student engaged in systematic investigations and comparative studies of many pragmatic subjects in various fields and divisions of the law. Session laws contain much basic information helpful in the formulation of new legislation. In this body of sources reposes the factual evidence that indicates trends in the law, State by State, and the comparative progress of these trends throughout the States in each subject division of the law. This factual information is equally important in the judicial process as the judge seeks light in the interpretation of the law that he applies.

Class B, Part 3—Special Legislation—covers many types of specialized enactments occasionally issued collaterally with the regular sessional printings. These provide concentrated material for specialists studying the ramifications of various institutional developments and form the background for constructive proposals for social and administrative reforms. The

militia laws of the States show the growth of military administration whereas the school laws trace the upward progress of our whole system of public education. Tax laws with their lists of taxables or “tithables” are of importance to political scientists, to social scientists, to economists, and to the perennial genealogists.

Class C, Constitutional Records, is composed of Part 1, Texts of Constitutions; Part 2, Proceedings of Constitutional Conventions; Part 3, Constitutional Commissions; and Part X, Miscellany.

Class C, Part 1, includes patents, grants, charters, and constitutions—the landmark expressions of the fundamental law of the country. Class C, Part 2, includes journals, debates, and ordinances of constitutional conventions. Class C, Part 3, includes the proceedings and reports of constitutional commissions and councils of censors, occasional bodies doing the spade work for constitutional reform.

Class D, Administrative Records, includes Part 1, Collected Documents; Part 2, Publications of Permanent Agencies; Part 3, Publications of Temporary Agencies; and Part X, Miscellany.

Class D, Part 1, includes varied types of executive, administrative, and legislative documents as they were collected and issued in bound serial form by the States. These usually contained the executive messages and gathered up the reports of administrative departments, institutions, boards, and commissions along with such legislative papers as were sessionally ordered to be printed. Because of the volume of Collected Documents, the present object of Part 1 is limited to filling up gaps existing in the files of the large documents collections. These include early runs of series in a number of States and later issues for periods in which they are rare. Provision is made in the framework, however, for a broader objective as a later supplement to the collection.

Class D, Parts 2 and 3, includes both serial and non-serial reports issued separately by administrative agencies. The plan is to gather collaterally the separately printed reports and collect them in series for periods prior to the issue of a regular collected series in a State. This work involves filling up gaps in a printed series with original manuscript reports and, for the colonial period, in copying the financial ledgers kept by the auditors and the treasurers.

Class E, Executive Records, is divided into Part 1, Executive Department Journals; Part 2, Governors' Messages; Part 3, Governors' Proclamations; Part 4, Governors' Letterbooks; and Part X, Miscellany.

Class E, Part 1, includes the journals that have recorded the exercise of the executive authority in the States—appointments, commissions, messages, proclamations, extraditions, etc. These were kept in the form of large manuscript ledgers and in only a few cases have they been printed later. In the colonial period they took the form of a record of the governor and council sitting in an executive capacity. In some of the New England States the council was carried over into statehood and their records show it as playing an important role as an organ of administration. The executive journals of the governors of the Territories also contain information of broad historical value. These have been copied down to 1830 in the old States and for the territorial period in the new States.

Class E, Parts 2 and 3, will collect and arrange the governors' messages and proclamations in series from separately printed editions.

Class E, Part 4, includes the official correspondence of the governors. In some cases these letterbooks were kept in conjunction with the Executive Journal but in others in separate series. In some of the Territories official letterbooks were kept by

the territorial secretary and in some of the States by the secretary of state.

In Class F, Court Records, only a beginning has been made in the work that should be done, and its breakdown into parts, therefore, must await future collecting in the field. Of judicial records so far copied, the minute books and dockets of the Supreme Courts of the Territories form a major section. The minutes of the General Court have been copied for the colonial period in North Carolina and journals of particular courts for shorter periods in other States. Also the records of municipal and local courts have been copied in certain important early centers of population.

In the five special classes into which the materials are to be separated, Class L is divided into Part 1, City Records, and Part 2, County Records. Here, as in the case of Court Records, the coverage is a limited one at the present time and merely suggests the possibilities and values of a comprehensive copying of the records of local units of government.

Class M, Records of American Indian Nations, includes Part 1, Records of the "Five Civilized Tribes," and Part 2, Indian Records.

Part 1 delineates the international records of the constituted governments of Indians through their treaties, conventions, and councils, and is divided into functional records of the operation of the governments of the Cherokee, the Chickasaw, the Choctaw, the Creek (or Muskogee), and the Seminole. These records are the best example in Anglo-American history of the adaptation by the native of our constitutional and legal system and reflect the influence of the body of Anglo-American law on the development of native institutions. Indeed their pattern of executive, legislative, judicial, and administrative structure of government was a copy of those of the States. The effi-



ciency with which it operated, as indicated by the systematic records they kept, suggests a distinctive contribution and a lesson in the science of government.

Part 2 of Class M gathers the record of the official relations of our governments with the Indian tribes over the span of American history as conflicts arose over land, commerce, and authority and as their treks and peregrinations embroiled them in our westward movement.

Class N, Newspapers, affords a place in the scheme of arrangement for a source that is the only extant carrier of certain official records. A close alliance of the newspaper collation is made with the regular and special classed series of documents so that by cross reference these records may be correlated.

Class R includes Part 1, Rudimentary States, and Part 2, Rudimentary Courts, and collects the records of those organized bodies that have possessed at some time during American history the rudiments of operating governments. Part 1 presents a myriad of forms, usually extra-legal in origin but occasionally legitimate by birth—a Mayflower Compact, a bill of rights, or a constitution of government. Collectively these phantom governments moving through the past have been expressions of the political genius of the American people for self-government when removed beyond the pale of constituted authority.

Class R, Part 2, centers on the mining districts throughout the West, organized groups of miners legislating in primary "Town Meeting" fashion and establishing courts for the administration of civil and criminal justice. The records of these bodies reveal the need of individuals in the wilderness for the protective controls of government. Their codes of laws and reg-

ulations constitute an indigenous contribution to the American system of law.

Class X is designed as a miscellany for materials overflowing from the other lettered classes. It makes provision for additional materials issued under authority of the States and for non-official material about the States. It includes census reports of the States, many of which antedate the Federal census. These are valuable for studies of population movement and the settlement of our frontier. It also contains the records of the corporate land companies and the proprietaries, offshoots of the early English trading companies and bodies exercising quasi-political powers, which played an important part in the settlement of certain regions of the country. Much of this will show the points of impact of foreign races and languages on our system of government and the coalescence of their ethnic and cultural influences in the rise of American civilization. Here may be mapped out a study of the Nation's ethnography. The Miscellany will also include a category of early Americana, rare book imprints gathered from widely scattered sources. And finally, broadsides will be isolated within the Miscellany. The broadside and the broadsheet precursors of the newspaper were the earliest carriers of official information and continued to be a principal form of official publication through the period of colonial printing. In them is revealed a wealth of colonial history relating to the many political currents that swept into the formation of our Union.

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*Director, State Records  
Microfilm Project*

# Microfilming as a Major Acquisitions Tool: Policies, Plans, and Problems

IT SHOULD be pointed out at the beginning that this paper\* concerns microfilming only as an acquisitions tool—that is, only as a means of increasing library collections or preserving them from loss. There are other very important uses of microfilm (as for the reduction of storage space or as a means of sub-publication) which we exploit at the Library of Congress, but here our attention will be confined to the role we expect microphotography to play as one of our major acquisitions devices.

The Library of Congress has used microfilm extensively in its acquisitions program for more than twenty years. Through the Wilbur Fund and a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation it has undertaken since 1928 to acquire microfilm copies of foreign archives and manuscripts relating specifically to the history of the United States, with a resultant accumulation of over 1,100,000 exposures. For a number of years it has put aside a special allotment for the filming of wood-pulp newspapers and has now completed, among many others, the *Alexandria Gazette*, the *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, the *National Tribune*, the *Washington Post*, the *Washington Star*, the *Washington Journal*, and the *Springfield Republican*. The Library has also been the beneficiary of a number of large gifts of

film, such as that resulting from the program sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies for filming British manuscripts during the war, and has with its own appropriations filmed many miscellaneous materials in addition to the foreign archives and the newspapers to which we have referred. As a consequence of all these activities, it now has in its collections about 75,000 rolls and strips of microfilm.

Extensive as the Library's use of microphotography has been in the past, impelling considerations of the present have convinced us that our use of this medium of acquisition should be expanded and have forced us to a searching reconsideration of our policies in relation to microfilming. One of the circumstances leading to such a re-examination of policy is the fact that we must now re-formulate our Wilbur Fund program in connection with its revival after a period of wartime suspension. A second circumstance has been the further progress of deterioration among wood-pulp newspapers during recent years when large-scale expenditures for their microfilming have been impractical. Perhaps the most pressing consideration has been, however, the increased responsibility of American libraries in relation to unique materials for research located in other countries.

The war revealed painfully the deficiencies both of American scholarship and of the holdings of American libraries in detailed information about areas which were brought into vital relationship to our national security. The broader horizon of

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\*This is substantially the speech delivered at the American Library Association Midwinter Conference before the Acquisition Department Heads of Research Libraries Round Table, Jan. 20, 1949.



American thought generally resulting from the war has created a demand upon all American libraries for more extensive collections of research materials relating to the other continents. One response of libraries to this increased demand, insofar as it relates to currently produced materials, is the Farmington Plan, but the demand is almost equally compelling in relation to retrospective materials which can often be obtained only in microcopy.

At the same time that the war has intensively stimulated American interest in foreign cultural materials, it has imposed a heavy responsibility on American institutions to preserve the basic records of civilization. Impressive as have been the achievements of American scholarship in recent decades and enormous as are the holdings of American libraries, it is still perhaps true to say that until the recent war American libraries had only a peripheral responsibility for the preservation of the main corpora of the documentation of Western civilization, a documentation whose principal treasures reposed in the libraries of Europe. The widespread physical destruction of libraries, archival institutions, and museums throughout Europe in the recent war and perhaps the even more serious disintegration in Europe and in Asia of the institutional patterns for the transmission of our culture through time have, it seems to us, placed upon American institutions no longer a peripheral but rather a central responsibility for assuring that the principal documents of our civilization will be preserved for future generations. We face then a situation in which one of our own basic sources, newspapers, is rapidly deteriorating, in which American scholarship is demanding access to vast quantities of material not now available in this country, and in which the basic research materials abroad relating to our whole civilization are in grave measure imperiled.

As one considers the vast scope of the responsibility which this complex of circumstances has placed on American libraries, the first and most inescapable conclusion is that any effective measures toward the discharge of that responsibility lie far beyond the means of any one library alone and can be realistically undertaken only through the concerted endeavor of all major American libraries. It has seemed to us therefore that our first responsibility was to endeavor to explore the bases that are required for the success of a general cooperative effort in the field of microphotography and to play such part as we could in the establishment of those necessary bases.

It appears that there are several of these. An obvious necessity for cooperative action in its broader sense is a commonly accepted set of technical standards for microfilming that will assure that the microphotography undertaken by any American institution will be of a quality adequate to serve the needs of the scholarly community in general. The recent work of Mr. Herman Fussler and his associates on a committee of the Association of Research Libraries in developing a manual of technical standards, when added to the remarkable progress of technical efficiency among the laboratories of American libraries generally in the last decade, assures us all that this basis is being effectively provided.

A second necessity is the existence of a clearinghouse of information concerning major projects for the filming of library materials, so that there may be available a ready means of avoiding wasteful duplication of effort and so that the necessary information for planning general programs of microfilming can be available to all library administrators. The Library of Congress has offered to establish and operate such a clearinghouse, and the first product of its work, a list of American newspapers on

microfilm, has recently been published by the Association of Research Libraries.

A third essential basis for effective cooperation is the existence of a planning committee representing major libraries and important research interests that could undertake to evaluate the need for filming bodies of material that are not now available to American scholars or that are in danger of destruction, and that could afford a means for libraries to divide among themselves the spheres of responsibility that they will respectively elect to discharge. It should be made perfectly clear here that we are not thinking of a committee with any mandatory authority to assign projects to any library or to bar any library from the undertaking of projects it feels desirable, but rather an informal medium for arriving at a mutual understanding and for a wholly voluntary division of responsibilities.

The Library of Congress urges the establishment of such a committee and offers to participate in its work and to accommodate the Library's program, insofar as its resources permit, to the committee's recommendations.

Before an effective division of responsibilities can be achieved, however, it seems to us that it is essential that certain understandings be reached affecting the availability to other libraries of the products of microfilming undertaken by any one library. Otherwise, in the absence of assurances as to its access to the work done by other institutions, every library is in some degree impelled to subordinate the national interest to the enrichment of its own collections. These problems relating to access involve: (1) policy in the availability of materials, (2) policy in the determination of the price of positive prints, and (3) policy with respect to the interlibrary loan of microfilms. With respect to the first, it seems to us that no policy is acceptable other than one that insists that no library shall itself impose a limitation on the free

availability to any scholar anywhere, whether by direct use, by the making of prints, or by loan, of all microfilms in its possession. Opinion among American librarians on this point is probably already nearly unanimous, and it is certainly a matter on which no compromise should be admitted.

The question of the pricing of positive prints of microfilms presents far more intricate questions of policy. The Library of Congress has hitherto used one of two bases in the pricing of positive prints of negative microfilm in its possession, neither of which appears to us wholly satisfactory. Normally, in the absence of any cooperative agreements, we have made positive prints of negative microfilm in our possession available to any purchaser at a price based on the cost of making the positive print. This has meant that the Library of Congress will have borne the entire cost of making the negative and the cost of making a positive print for its own service collections, whereas any other library, without having undertaken any responsibility in the matter, can obtain a positive print at a cost probably not more than a fourth or a fifth of that borne by the Library of Congress. We are not unduly concerned about the cost in itself, but we do believe that this policy, as generally followed by American libraries, is not in the public interest. We believe this because such a practice constitutes a standing encouragement to any institution to use its generally limited microfilming budget for the purchase of positive prints of film that has already been made and that can be acquired at five or six cents a foot rather than in the making of negative films of material that badly needs filming but that would represent a cost to the institution in question of several times as much. In other words, if we consider the resources of all American libraries available for the acquisition of microfilm as a single pool to be used in the national interest, the pricing



practice that I have described encourages the use of the major part of that fund for the multiplication of positive prints and only a minor part for what we believe should be its principal purpose—that is, for making additional negatives in order to assure the preservation or the availability in the United States of valuable research materials.

The alternative practice that we have from time to time employed when the cost of a microfilming project was beyond our means has been to enlist the cooperation of other libraries in a specific project and to prorate the cost of making the negative among the subscribing libraries who receive positive prints. There can be no question of the equity of this arrangement, but its use imposes serious administrative difficulties. If it seems desirable, for example, to microfilm any major metropolitan newspaper, we will circularize perhaps half a dozen libraries to enlist their subscriptions, and we will almost always find that some are not interested at all, that others are interested in only a part of the file (and usually different libraries are interested in different parts), while others are interested only if a sufficient number of libraries subscribe to bring the total cost per foot down to a specified maximum (generally different for each library). The necessity of ironing out these questions and arriving at a generally satisfactory agreement—a procedure which may take months or even years, as well as a considerable amount of administrative time—serves as a serious impediment to the prompt initiation of needed projects or even to their being undertaken at all. Moreover, there is a natural impulse to endeavor to obtain the subscription of as many libraries as possible in order to reduce the cost to each as much as possible, and to elect projects not on the basis of the intrinsic importance of the project itself but on the basis of the number of institutions

that can probably be interested in the acquisition of prints, so that to some degree this policy produces the same undesirable effects as that described above.

These considerations lead us to believe that it would be in the public interest for all major libraries to adopt a policy with respect to the pricing of prints from negatives in their possession that would discourage the general purchasing of positive prints unless they were actually needed for specific reference requirements, that would require every library obtaining a print to make a contribution toward the production of further negatives, and that would enable institutions to go ahead and plan projects without the necessity of indefinite delays while working out cooperative arrangements.

A policy now under consideration would require that our Photoduplication Service itself bear the cost of making negatives of materials ordered by the Library of Congress, using this as a means of investing some of its working capital. The Service would then sell prints to the Library of Congress and to any other library on the basis of adding to its price for the positive a surcharge equal to one quarter of the cost of making the negative. The surcharge would in turn be applied to the making of negatives of additional materials. On this basis, the Photoduplication Service would, of course, lose money on some projects and make money on others. If it is found that a profit is consistently made, the surcharge can be reduced to one fifth or to some smaller fraction of the cost of the negative, though in general we would not want to reduce it to such a point as to encourage libraries to buy positives rather than to apply their microfilming budgets to the making of negatives. It is also possible, in case the Photoduplication Service loses money too heavily on any given film, for the Library to buy the negative to add to its collections, thus enabling the Service

to recoup its losses. Such a policy would not, of course, apply to negatives that have been received by the Library of Congress as gifts under the condition that prints be made available at cost to other institutions or to negatives produced in the course of cooperative projects, in which the cooperative agreement itself normally fixes the arrangements for the sale of prints. We rather like the idea of such a policy, but our primary wish is to accommodate our own policy to any policy that may be agreed upon by American libraries generally.

A final essential, it seems to us, for an effective cooperative program for microfilming is the general acceptance of the interlibrary loan of positive prints of microfilms as a normal practice. This will doubtless be the most effective means for relieving a number of different libraries of the necessity for expending their appropriations in the purchase of individual positive prints of the same film and thereby freeing funds for the making of additional negatives. The Library of Congress is now prepared to join with any or all other libraries in lending freely positive prints of microfilm in its possession with or without the charge of a service fee. It may be added that we hope it will become the accepted practice of American libraries not to charge such a fee, since the swapping back and forth among ourselves of the charges will not increase the total resources available to us for filming and will, on the other hand, result in every library's incurring rather heavy bookkeeping expenses for the assessment and collection of nominal sums.

If we assume that all of these necessary bases for a genuinely cooperative microfilming program involving all major American libraries are established in practice—and I do not think that it should be difficult to make this assumption come true—we can envision a situation in which a considerable part of the budget of each major

American library is applied to the filming of materials that are not now available to American scholars or that, like wood-pulp newspapers, are in danger of loss to scholarship and in which the total funds available are applied in a carefully thought-out way to provide the maximum useful return to the support of research in the United States. We believe that just such a situation and that just such a general cooperative endeavor are essential to the discharge of the collective responsibilities of the libraries of this country both to American scholarship and to world civilization, and we pledge our fullest participation.

In such a situation, of course, each major library must decide for itself, with due regard to the national needs, to the programs being undertaken by other institutions, and to the recommendations of such a planning committee as has been suggested, what will be the particular area of responsibility it will assume for itself. Some of the thinking that we have been engaged in as to what particular responsibilities the Library of Congress should undertake is here presented. It seems to us the first conclusion we should draw is that the resources available to the Library specifically for microfilming, including the working capital of its Photoduplication Service, gift funds, and such special allotments as may be set aside by the Librarian from our appropriations for the increase of the collections, should be devoted exclusively to the filming of materials that are not now available in any library in the United States or that, like wood-pulp newspapers, are in danger of deterioration or loss. We do not believe, in other words, that our basic microfilm budget should be expended in the filming of materials that already are securely preserved and conveniently available to American scholars. This means, among other things, that we will not normally purchase prints of materials that have already been filmed by other libraries in



this country unless we feel that they are essential to meet current or immediately anticipated reference demands made upon this Library. It means also that we will not join as a subscriber in cooperative projects to undertake the filming of newspapers or other series unless the participation of the Library of Congress is essential to the project's being initiated.

Following upon these negative conclusions as to the purposes for which the Library of Congress should not use its microfilming budget proper, we may turn to some positive conclusions. In the domestic field, newspapers of the wood-pulp period perhaps command the highest priority of attention. There are thousands of files of newspapers in the United States already in a fairly advanced state of deterioration. Probably even by the concerted effort of all libraries not all of them can be filmed in time, though this is an unhappy circumstance that will lead to the loss particularly of files of small local weeklies which are a principal source for the history of their respective communities. Because of the identification of most newspapers with particular areas, it seems especially desirable that institutions with a primarily regional, state, or local emphasis should undertake for themselves the responsibility for filming papers of their respective areas. The Library of Congress' part is doubtless to join with other libraries of national emphasis in the filming of the great metropolitan dailies which mirror our entire national life and which cannot be filmed by means now at the disposal of most institutions. We have undertaken in the past to film a number of such papers, as has been pointed out above, and are currently engaged in the filming of the *Baltimore Sun*. We hope to devote a considerable sum annually to such filming projects.

A second field in which the Library of Congress has an obvious responsibility is

the filming of unpublished materials abroad which relate to the national history of the United States. We use the words national history advisedly, because we believe that it may be very desirable for institutions with a special state or regional research interest to undertake the filming of unpublished materials abroad relating specifically to the history of their particular regions, states, or localities. Such a program, for example, with respect to a specific region has already been undertaken by the Bancroft Library of the University of California. The responsibility proposed for the Library of Congress is one that it has long assumed, and for which it has a special income available—at least so far as materials in Europe are concerned—from the Wilbur Fund. The Library will be able doubtless to provide a considerable supplement to this Fund from its own appropriations to enable it to carry forward the filming of materials of this category in a greater number of countries and at a more rapid pace than before the war. The early revival of filming under the Wilbur Fund in France and England is now contemplated as is a similar filming program in Mexico, using the Library's own appropriations.

Still a third field in which the Library of Congress may properly assume a primary responsibility is that of legal materials, whether printed or in manuscript, of which no copies exist in the United States. The extraordinary strength of the present law collections of the Library of Congress, the frequent need of Government agencies for comprehensive collections of materials relating to foreign law, and the fact that the Library of Congress has a special and relatively ample appropriation for the increase of the Law Library's collections all serve to suggest an emphasis in this field. At the present time we are engaged in filming on an extensive scale legal works in the Bibliothèque Nationale and in the British

Museum that are not now available in any American library, and we expect to continue to devote a considerable sum to this project. Similarly, through the project for microfilming State documents, described elsewhere in this issue of the *Journal*, we have endeavored, in cooperation with the University of North Carolina, to place on film and in logical arrangement in series the legal materials of the American States that now exist only in manuscript form or in unique or rare printed copies.

The areas to which the Library of Congress is in a position to give attention as described above are sharply defined—metropolitan newspapers; archival and manuscript material abroad relating specifically to the national history of the United States; and collections of laws, legal treatises, and other legal sources not available in the United States.

These three programs in themselves are obviously not enough to meet the needs of American scholars for ready access in this country to materials now available only abroad, nor do they answer with any measure of effectiveness the grave responsibility which American institutions must increasingly feel for the preservation of those historical materials of Western civilization which the uncertain state of the world exposes to serious danger and destruction. A far more ambitious program than this has been contemplated by the Committee on Documentary Reproduction of the American Historical Association, under the chairmanship of Dr. Edgar Erickson. The Erickson Committee, operating through numerous subcommittees, each giving attention to a particular country, has produced an elaborate and well constructed series of programs, each anticipated to cost large sums of money and to extend over many years. The fulfillment of these programs would result in the availability on film in the United States of the most important series of manuscript materials and

of rare published works relating to the domestic history and culture of the various countries of the world. If it should be possible to carry out to its completion the program envisioned by this Committee, a scholar from his study room in any major library in the United States would be in a position to carry on extensive investigations into the history of almost any area of the world, and the most serious catastrophes abroad would not obliterate the basic records of civilization. There can be no question of the magnificence of the endeavor that is being proposed or of the great utility of its product.

The Library of Congress has worked closely with Dr. Erickson and his associates in the preparation of a series of programs put forward by their Committee, and it has agreed to undertake the administration of the program on behalf of American scholarly institutions generally as funds can be found for its support.

All of us must face, however, the very realistic fact that a program of filming abroad that goes beyond such sharply limited objectives as those now entertained by the Library of Congress or that may reasonably be entertained by other individual American libraries, and that endeavors to transfer in bulk to the United States on film a major part of the basic documentation of each of the principal countries of the world will entail a cost not only utterly beyond the resources of the Library of Congress or of any other individual library, but even far beyond the resources for filming of all American libraries acting together. Efforts are being made by Dr. Erickson's Committee to obtain financial support for a program of so broad a scale from the funds made available under the Fulbright Act and other sources, but the Library of Congress feels that it must be prepared to consider what realistic steps it can take with its own resources toward meeting the broader need set forth in the Erickson



Committee program, in case other funds should not be available. In this context, it seems to us that the most useful thing we can do beyond carrying forward the sharply defined programs we have described above is to undertake first to film such unpublished bibliographies, guides, inventories, calendars, and other means of access to collections of unpublished materials and of rare books abroad as may be helpful to American scholars in any institution in this country in determining the precise series of the individual documents that may be required in particular research undertakings.

We believe, further, that our second and complementary step should be to try to aid in the establishment, in appropriate centers of each of the major countries of the world, of microfilming facilities adequate to serve the needs of American institutions and scholars generally.

What needs to be done in this latter connection will vary a great deal from country to country. In the British Museum, for example, in the Public Record Office, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and in institutions of similar caliber, there exist already microfilm facilities quite adequate from the point of view of professional and technical competence to provide American institutions and scholars with films of specific materials they may require. The difficulty with most such installations is that they are limited in size and are not in a position rapidly to produce large quantities of film on order. We have thought of the possibility of placing Library of Congress cameras in such institutions, not only to speed up the execution of our own orders, but to help in making it possible for other American libraries, perhaps ordering through us, to obtain quickly what they need.

In other countries there may be no major and centrally located institution at present equipped to do microfilming. In such a case, we have considered the possibility of

sending a Library of Congress team to the country to undertake the filming of unpublished bibliographical apparatus and materials that fall within one of the specifically defined programs of the Library of Congress. It would be anticipated that such a team would employ and train a considerable number of citizens of the country in which it was working, that it would work in very close collaboration with appropriate institutions of the country concerned, and that it would leave a camera or cameras in the country when it had completed its work. Meanwhile the staffs of the local institutions would have received sufficient training in microphotographic techniques to handle with the equipment left with them orders not only from the Library of Congress but from other American institutions. Such a project is now about to be initiated in Italy, in which we shall undertake a microfilming project in cooperation with the Italian archival establishment, headed by the distinguished Dr. Emilio Re. The immediate purpose of this project will be to film available unpublished bibliographical tools and certain other specific materials needed by the Library of Congress, but one of the ultimate purposes will be to equip the Italian archival system to use microphotography both for its own purposes and for the purpose of meeting the needs of American scholars when they require individual and selected bodies of material from Italy.

In still other cases, it may prove to be desirable to have an outright Library of Congress photoduplication unit, operated perhaps as a branch of our Photoduplication Service and intended primarily to film materials needed by the Library of Congress, but in a position, as an incident to this operation, to film materials which may be wanted by other institutions. Such a branch of the Library of Congress Photoduplication Service has now been estab-

lished in Mexico City, under the auspices of the Benjamin Franklin Library.

In still other cases, the most advantageous step may be to lend assistance to private American microfilming agencies in establishing such facilities as may serve effectively to meet the needs of American institutions generally.

Even this limited attack, which is aimed not at filming large masses of material in advance of specific research needs, but merely at establishing the *facilities* for filming and the *knowledge* of the documents that exist and can be filmed, is a task of great magnitude; but we believe that the Library will have funds available to take a number of steps in this direction during the next few years, if the interest and needs of other American institutions appear to justify its doing so.

In all that has been said heretofore, we have been thinking of the use of those resources of the Library of Congress, and by inference of other libraries, that can be devoted to microfilming materials obtainable in no other form. We have also been thinking at the Library of substituting microfilming for the direct purchase of out-of-print books and serials as a means of filling retrospective gaps in our collections, using for that purpose the funds now normally allotted for retrospective buying. We suppose it is the case with any large library that a major part of its administrative budget for acquisitions goes into the searching of thousands of offers from dealers to determine whether the works concerned are in the library, and in any major library the conclusion in the overwhelming majority of cases will, of course, be that the library already has the work. The expense of such searching has proved so far beyond the means of the Library of Congress, in fact, that we are in a position to give attention only to a very small number of the dealers' offers that daily reach us, with the result that we undoubtedly lose the op-

portunity of acquiring many materials that we need. An alternative is to conduct a survey of the collections, area by area, and compile want lists, the successful filling of which would bring the collections up to the desired standards. This technique, too, we have used wherever we could, and it has generally not proved to be an impossible task to make out quite comprehensive and satisfactory want lists. The difficulty has come in getting them filled, since the mere absence of an item from the collection of any major library in itself suggests that it may be rather rare and difficult to come by.

We have been considering the possibility, when such want lists have been established, of filling the gaps in our collections not by placing the want lists with dealers who, however satisfactory their services, can hope only to fill the lists piece by piece over a number of years, and incompletely, but rather by searching the lists against the National Union Catalog and the catalogs of major foreign libraries and placing orders at one time for filming all of the desired materials that we lack. The disadvantages are obvious and relate primarily to the facts that microfilm is harder to catalog, harder to service, and harder to use than the original book. It is also true that at the present time it is sometimes almost as much of an ordeal to get an extensive list of books filmed in a number of different libraries as it is to run down the originals through the medium of antiquarian book dealers throughout the world. The principal advantages of such a system, it seems to us, are that, in the case of rare material, we could obtain film a good deal more cheaply than we could purchase the original works, and that with one operation, pushed through in a definable period of months, we could bring a given sector of our collections to whatever state of completeness seemed to be desirable in the light of the Library's general responsibility and could thenceforward for the most part



dismiss from our minds the retrospective strengthening of that particular area of our holdings. There is also to be added the consideration that only a single search would need to be undertaken.

No conclusions of policy have yet been reached in such a radical shift of emphasis in the use of our general funds for the purchase of older materials, but we would welcome any views and statements of experience regarding this problem.

In conclusion, we feel that there is no area of American librarianship in which general and public-spirited cooperation is more essential than in some of the problems of microphotography with which we have all been concerned. For that reason,

some of the thinking that has been going on in the Library of Congress has been presented here, though much of it is as yet reaching only very tentatively toward conclusions, and though much of it is doubtless subject to radical revision in the light of the needs and the experience of other institutions and of our own future experience as we shall carry our program further. Certainly there is no area of our own activity in which we feel more keenly the need of sharing views, plans, and problems with others. We shall welcome extensive comment.

DAN LACY  
*Assistant Director for Acquisi-  
tions, Processing Department*

# Sixteenth-Century Maps Presented by Lessing J. Rosenwald

FIVE sixteenth-century maps of great Americana interest were recently presented by Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald to the Library of Congress. Maps of America by Diego Gutiérrez (1562), by André Thevet (1581), and by Franz Hogenberg (1589); a Gastaldo world map of 1565 engraved by Ferdinando Bertelli; and a map of the Pacific Ocean by Gabriel Tatton (1600) are the notable additions to the Library's cartographic treasures.

The Gutiérrez map of 1562 [*see illustration*] is the largest known map of the New World printed up to that time. Mr. Rosenwald's gift is one of the two known copies of this map, the other being preserved in the British Museum. Entitled "Americae sive quartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio. Avctore Diego Gvtiero Philippi Regis Hisp. etc. Cosmographo. Hiero Cock Excude. 1562," the map includes the eastern coast of North America, all of Central and South America, and portions of the western coasts of Europe and Africa. Although there are no coordinates given, the area covered falls roughly between 0° and 115° longitude west of Greenwich, and 57° north, and 70° south latitude. Six engraved sheets are neatly joined to form a single map which measures 93 x 86 cm. Because the map seems to end abruptly on the east and west and the ornamental border is only at the top and bottom, one might infer that a world map was planned, of which only this American part was completed. The British Museum copy has, however, an ornamental border on all four sides.

Paul Chaix published a description of the Gutiérrez map in the *Mémoires de la Société de Géographie de Genève*, 1868, vol. 7, pp. 237-42, but gave no indication of the location of the map he was describing. He concluded that the names on the map were originally written in somewhat Italianized Spanish and that the Dutch engraver made a number of errors in copying it, not only in the spellings of place names but also in place locations. Henry Harrisse, on the other hand, in his *Découverte et évolution cartographique de Terre-Neuve*, 1900, p. 160, expressed the belief that the map has a French-Italian origin.

Although the map is dated 1562, it shows none of the geographical discoveries made in the preceding decade. Drawn at a time when important explorations were increasing the geographical knowledge of the New World, it reflects neither the contemporaneous French explorations in North America nor those of the Spaniards in South America.

The following inscription on the map gives evidence, seventy years after 1492, of the popular belief that Americus Vesputius discovered America in 1497: "Quarta haec orbis pars geographis omnibus usque in annum 1497 incognita permansit, quo tempore iussu Regis Castellae ab Americo Vesputio inuenta est, a quo tanquam ab inuentore etiam nomen obtinuit[!]" [This fourth part of the world remained unknown to all geographers until the year 1497, at which time it was discovered by Americus Vesputius serving the





THE GUTIÉRREZ MAP. Presented by Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald.







King of Castille, whereupon it also obtained a name from the discoverer].

According to the findings of Ruth Putnam in her *California: the Name*, Berkeley, 1917, front., the Gutiérrez map has the distinction of being the earliest on which "California" appears, for on it "C. California" is applied to the southern tip of Lower California.

The Gutiérrez map has been used as evidence in two South American boundary disputes. In this connection it was reproduced in part in (1) *Frontières entre le Brésil et la Guyane Française. Mémoire présenté par les États Unis du Brésil. Atlas*. Paris, 1899, nos. 7-8; and (2) *Judicio de límites entre el Perú y Bolivia. Prueba peruana presentada al gobierno de la República Argentina por Víctor M. Maurtua . . . Atlas*, Barcelona, 1906, vol. 2, no. 1. Tracings of it were made by Johann Georg Kohl for the Kohl Collection (nos. 184 and 359), now in the Library of Congress. The British Museum copy is reproduced by Leo Bagrow in his *A. Ortelii catalogus cartographorum*, 1928, vol. 1, plate 10.

The copy of the Gutiérrez map now in the Library of Congress was formerly in the collection of the Duke of Gotha. It was sold at auction in Munich in 1932 and was subsequently acquired by an American book dealer.

About the map maker, Diego Gutiérrez, very little is known, and that little results largely from his association with Sebastian Cabot. Henry Harrisse (*Discovery of North America*, 1892, p. 720) and Leo Bagrow (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 103) repeat the account of M. F. De Navarrete (*Biblioteca marítima española*, 1851, vol. 1, pp. 342-43) that there were a father and son with the same name. The senior Gutiérrez is said to have made a portolan chart of the Atlantic Ocean dated 1550 and the junior Gutiérrez, the 1562 map of America. José Toribio Medina (*El Veneciano Sebastián*

*Caboto*, 1908, vol. 1, p. 354 ff.), however, disagrees with these earlier writers. He concludes from documentary sources that there was only one Diego Gutiérrez, that his son was named Sancho, and that both the known signed maps are the work of the same person.

Diego Gutiérrez was a chart and instrument maker as well as a pilot. He is believed by Harrisse to have been born at Seville in 1485, by Medina to have been born in Portugal in 1488, and by both to have begun making charts and nautical instruments in 1511. According to one of Gutiérrez' memorials he was first established in Cadiz, being there at the time the Magellan armada set out. Later he was established in Seville where he was associated with the pilots and cosmographers of the Casa de la Contratación. The Casa, also called India House, was established at Seville by royal order early in 1503 to control trade and navigation in American waters. It appears that Gutiérrez was closely allied with Sebastian Cabot as early as 1534. The latter represented him to the King as his partner in the sale of charts and nautical instruments, in order that Gutiérrez might be received as cosmographer and official map maker. It is interesting to note a decree of the King, dated February 17, 1540, restraining Cabot and Gutiérrez from requiring all pilots to buy charts and instruments from them alone.

Sebastian Cabot became pilot major to the Crown of Spain and official examiner of pilots on February 5, 1518. It was this office of pilot major to which he named Diego Gutiérrez as his substitute when he returned to England in 1547. The Casa de la Contratación, however, protested the substitution and required that Gutiérrez be examined regarding his professional abilities. Gutiérrez probably died early in 1554, since his son, Sancho, was named to succeed him on February 10 of that year.

Medina believes that the 1562 map was engraved by Hieronymus Cock some years after Gutiérrez' death. Of the 1550 chart of the Atlantic Ocean, preserved in the archives of the Dépôt de la Marine in Paris, A. Anthiaume writes (*Cartes marines*, 1916, vol. 2, pp. 42 and 371) that it appears to be based upon that of Alonso de Chaves, that it omits the French discoveries in the Newfoundland-St. Lawrence area, and that its nomenclature is Portuguese.

The engraver, Hieronymus Cock, was a Flemish artist of considerable talent.\* His father, Jan Wellens or Willems, alias Cock, and his brother, Mathias Cock, were both noted painters. Hieronymus Cock was born at Antwerp in 1510. He was admitted to the Guild of St. Luke as a master painter in 1545, but later engaged in engraving and print selling. Between 1546 and 1548 he traveled in Italy and produced several creditable engravings of Rome and of the Capitol there. Between 1550 and the time of his death in 1570 he carried on a very successful business in Antwerp, doing much to popularize art by making available through his engravings many of the finest works of the Dutch masters.

Cock engraved several of the maps for Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, which was published by the Plantin Press at Antwerp, and a number of plans of Antwerp as well as topographical views of other cities. Engravings by him are included in Jacob van Deventer's *Nederlandsche Steden*, in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum*, in Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, and other works.

In 1554, Hieronymus Cock engraved a fine plan of the Antwerp fortifications erected by Charles V of Spain. This very

early plan of Antwerp, drawn according to the original design of Peter Frans and Virgil de Bologne, was engraved at the request of Captain Francesco di Marchi of the household of Margaret of Parma, for presentation to Philip II of Spain at the time of his marriage to Queen Mary of England. In this connection it is interesting to note that the map of America, 1562, was dedicated to Philip II by Diego Gutiérrez, and to Margaret of Parma by Hieronymus Cock.

ANDRÉ THEVET's map is entitled "Le Novveav Monde Descouvert et Illvstre de Nostre Temps. A Paris, chez Guillaume Chaudiere, Ruë S. Iaques, à l'enseigne du Temps & de l'Homme Sauvage. 1581." The title appears in the upper margin and the imprint in the lower margin while the more generally quoted title, "Qvarte partie dv Monde," is given within the border. The name of "Andre Thevet, Cosmographe du Roy" appears in a cartouche in the lower left portion of the map above his explanation to the reader. The map measures 35 x 46 cm.

The only other copy known to us is in the collection of the Chicago Historical Society. An impression without the imprint in the lower margin is included in Thevet's *La Cosmographie universelle*, Paris, Chez Pierre L'Huillier, 1575, vol. 2, a facsimile of which is included in *Frontières entre le Brésil . . . Atlas*, Paris, 1899, no. 23. Bagrow, in his biographical sketch of Thevet (*op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 83-87), indicates that *La Cosmographie universelle* was published simultaneously both by L'Huillier and by Chaudiere, but he does not identify an impression of the map dated 1581. A. Anthiaume (*op. cit.*, 1916, vol. 2, p. 470) does, however, mention a 1581 edition. Both the 1575 and 1581 editions of the map are woodcuts printed from the same block, the only difference being the explanation to the reader, the type for which was reset.

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\*Biographical sketches of Cock are contained in Jean Denucé's *Oud-Nederlandsche Kaartmakers*, 1912, vol. 1, pp. 118-39, and in Ulrich Thieme's *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, 1912, vol. 7, pp. 143-44.



André Thevet was born in Angoulême in 1502 and died in Paris in 1590. He joined the Franciscan order and traveled widely in the interest of geographical science rather than for the propagation of the faith. He visited Italy, the eastern Mediterranean, and the Orient between 1537 and 1547. For several years thereafter he was engaged in preparing an account of his travels for publication. In 1555, he joined the expedition of Nicolas de Villegagnon to Brazil which arrived in Rio de Janeiro late that year. Because of ill health, he left Brazil the following year, sailing along the North American coast on his return voyage. His account of this voyage, *Les Singularitez de la France antarctique, autrement nommée Amérique*, published at Paris in 1558 contained no maps, although the epilogue refers to "Cartes de l'Auteur." Subsequently he was named "Cosmographe du Roy."

Thevet is believed by his contemporaries and by later writers to have been quite credulous and to have embellished his writings on the New World with accounts of others in addition to his own observations.

HOGENBERG's map is entitled "Americae et proximarvm regionvm orae descriptio. Per Franc: Hogenberg: A° D. 1589," and measures 34 x 47 cm. H. R. Wagner (*Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World*, 1926, p. 424) says that a map with this same title belongs to the German edition of the voyage of Drake to the West Indies in 1585, published in 1589, although it is seldom found in it. The map bears considerable similarity both to Abraham Ortelius' "Maris Pacifici" and to the anonymous map of America by Arnoldo de Arnoldi, 1582, being drawn on the same projection and having similar characteristics.

Franz Hogenberg, painter, engraver, and print seller, was born in Malines before

1540 and is believed to have died in Cologne about 1590. His father, Hans Hogenberg, also an artist-painter, migrated with his family from the Netherlands to England about 1555 because of religious persecution. Franz engraved a number of fine portraits and architectural drawings, as well as maps. He is believed to have remained in England only a short time. While there, he engraved a portrait of Queen Elizabeth and several maps for Christopher Saxton's atlas. He probably was in Antwerp for a time before 1570, for he engraved some of the maps for the *Theatrum orbis terrarum* of Abraham Ortelius, first published in 1570. He settled in Cologne about that time.

With Georg Braun, he produced the six-volume *Civitates orbis terrarum*, a monumental work begun in 1572, comprising some 300 topographical drawings of the world's principal cities.

THE GASTALDO-BERTELLI map of 1565 is a delicately colored, well preserved impression, entitled "Vniversale descrittione di tvtta la terra conosciuta fin qvi." Drawn on an elliptical projection with windheads in the upper corners and inscriptions in the lower corners, it measures 44 x 78 cm. Like Gastaldo's original issue of 1546, which was drawn on a smaller scale, it shows North America joined to Asia. Gastaldo's name does not appear on this 1565 impression nor does that of Paulo Forlani. The inscription "Ferando berteli Exc. 1565" is in the lower left corner, and the dedication to Bartholomio Zacco in the lower right corner is inscribed "Fer. Bertelli libraro." Except for the omission of Forlani's name, it is like the facsimile reproduction in *Remarkable Maps*, 1897, vol. IV.

Leo Bagrow has identified a copy of this 1565 map in the Stadtbibliothek at Breslau (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 91). R. V. Tooley also



mentions the Breslau copy in his list of "Maps in Italian Atlases of the Sixteenth Century" (*Imago mundi*, 1939, vol. 3, p. 16).

GABRIEL TATTON's map of the Pacific Ocean [*see illustration*] is also quite rare. It is entitled "Maris Pacifici quod uulgo Mar del Zur cum regionibus Circumiacentibus, insulisque in eodem passī Sparsis, nouissima descriptio, G. Tattonus Auct. 1600. Benjamin Wright Anglus coelator," and measures 40 x 51 cm. Other copies of it are known to be in the British Museum and in the Institut de France. It is noted in the *Lowery Collection*, edited by P. L. Phillips, 1912, no. 86, although neither Lowery nor Phillips had seen a copy. The latter took his description from Sidney Colvin's *Early Engraving & Engravers in England*, 1905, p. 32, where it is described as a most creditable engraving of Benjamin Wright.

Knowledge of Gabriel Tatton is fragmentary. He was English and is known to have spent some time in the Netherlands. Giuseppe Caraci (*La Bibliofilia*, 1924, vol. 26, pp. 240-47) describes an undated

portolan chart preserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence. It is inscribed "By mijn Gabriell Tatton uan London Englishman" and Caraci places it in the second half of the sixteenth century. It includes the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, the Pacific Ocean, and the Caribbean area with the lands surrounding them. The printed map shows much more detail in the North American continent than the portolan.

The engraver, Benjamin Wright, a resident of London, was engraving globes and celestial charts as early as 1596. Some of his later engravings were done at Amsterdam and at Bologna.

THESE five maps, all of which bear definite dates of publication (an estimable feature of sixteenth-century maps), greatly strengthen the Library's collection of maps in this period. A significant link in the chain of evidence concerning American discovery and exploration is represented by each of these maps.

CLARA EGLI LE GEAR  
*Division of Maps*

# The General Spaatz Collection

THE acquisition of the papers of General Carl Spaatz, former Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force, constitutes something of a milestone in the fulfillment of the century-old principle that the Library of Congress shall collect and preserve the significant records of the life and achievements of the American people. Military manuscripts already in the Library date from the Revolutionary War and are well represented for the earlier and middle phases of the Nation's history by the personal papers of such famous general officers as William Henry ("Tippecanoe") Harrison (ninth President of the United States), William Tecumseh Sherman, George Brinton McClellan, Benjamin Franklin Butler, and for the more recent period by those of Tasker Howard Bliss, World War I Chief of Staff and member of the Allied Supreme War Council. The present papers, which are to be known as the General Spaatz Collection, are the first to come to the Library from the period of World War II. They form an invaluable body of documentation not only of the air phases of the late conflict but in a more general way of the rise of air power to its present position in national and international affairs.

Two years ago, believing that important air archives should be represented in the Library of Congress, General Spaatz presented his own set (19 volumes) of strategic bombing photographs from the European war.<sup>1</sup> With this and other expressions of interest in its aeronautical collections, the Library found no difficulty in approaching

General Spaatz on the subject of acquiring the whole mass of papers and other records accumulated by him in the course of a notable career in military aviation.

In the negotiations which ensued, General Spaatz and his former personal historian, Professor Bruce C. Hopper of Harvard University, freely discussed with the Library's representatives the contents and organization of the papers, and a draft instrument of gift was readily agreed upon. As a portion of the documents were duplicate copies of official Air Force records, the present Air Force Chief of Staff, General Hoyt S. Vandenberg, and his representatives were asked by General Spaatz to give their approval to the project which he and the Library had in mind. General Vandenberg heartily endorsed General Spaatz' proposals, adding assurances that the Air Force would do everything in its power to facilitate the transfer of this group of official papers from the Air Force to the Library of Congress.

The problem was solved by means of a three-way agreement to which General Spaatz, the Department of the Air Force, and the Library of Congress were signatories. As the agreement itself is its own best explanation, the full text is given here:

1. This agreement is entered into this thirty-first day of August, 1948, between the Department of the Air Force, the Library of Congress, and General Carl Spaatz, U. S. Air Force (Retired), to govern the custody and control of the papers, both personal and official, assembled by or for General Spaatz and relating to his service in the United States Air Force and predecessor commands, and hereinafter referred to as the General Spaatz Collection.

2. There is annexed hereto an inventory of the papers, both personal and official, comprising the

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<sup>1</sup> Described in the *Quarterly Journal*, Nov. 1947, pp. 9-11.

General Spaatz Collection. It is understood and agreed that the papers described in Schedule A of this inventory are personal papers of General Spaatz and are his private property. It is understood and agreed that the papers described in Schedule B of this inventory are extra copies of official documents assembled by General Spaatz or at his command for the convenience of reference of himself and his staff in the course of personal and official historical investigation and that, though they are not records of the United States Government as defined in 44USC366, they are the physical property of the Department of the Air Force.

3. It is the purpose of the contracting parties in executing this agreement to make provision for the preservation together, under appropriate custody and control, of both the personal and the official papers assembled by General Spaatz as the General Spaatz Collection.

4. In order to effectuate this purpose, General Carl Spaatz hereby gives to the United States of America, to be deposited in the Library of Congress and administered therein by the authorities thereof, the papers described in Schedule A of the attached inventory, subject to the following conditions:

a. During General Spaatz's lifetime, access to the papers hereby donated to the Library of Congress shall be given only to him and to persons designated or approved by him, unless he shall at a later time remove this condition.

b. After General Spaatz's death or after removal by him of the conditions stated in "a" above, access to papers hereby conveyed shall be controlled by the Library of Congress, the Librarian of Congress assuming responsibility for the exercise of all reasonable precautions to prevent the indiscreet or improper use of the papers.

c. General Spaatz shall at all times be given access to the papers hereby conveyed and shall be permitted at any time to withdraw parts of the papers or reproductions of them for temporary use.

5. In order further to effectuate this purpose the Department of the Air Force hereby agrees to deposit in the Library of Congress the official papers assembled by General Spaatz and described in Schedule B of the attached inventory. The Department of the Air Force retains title to and complete control of access to these papers and shall approve all provisions for their physical storage made by the Library of Congress. It is hereby stated to be the intent of the Department of the Air Force, at such future date as security conditions will in the opinion of the

Chief of Staff, United States Air Force, permit, to transfer to the Library of Congress title to the papers hereby deposited, subject to such conditions as the Chief of Staff, United States Air Force, may at that time deem proper to impose.

6. The Library of Congress agrees to accept the gift of the papers described in Schedule A and the deposit of those described in Schedule B of the attached inventory<sup>2</sup> subject to the conditions herein stated; and to house, care for, and preserve them as the General Spaatz Collection. The Library of Congress further agrees, in the case of the papers described in Schedule B, to maintain such security measures and to implement such policy for access to and use of these papers as the Department of the Air Force may impose, and except as provided herein agrees not to disclose any classified information therein contained to any person unless authorized beforehand to do so by the Chief of Staff, United States Air Force, this agreement to remain in force until title is transferred from the Department of the Air Force to the Library of Congress as provided in "5" above.

7. The General Spaatz Collection shall be promptly organized for use under the direction of the Librarian of Congress or his representative, the method of arrangement and choice of a locator system or system of finding aids to be agreed upon by the parties to this agreement or their representatives. The Librarian of Congress shall assign, subject to the approval of the Department of the Air Force, a specifically designated person or persons to organize the General Spaatz Collection, and the other parties to this agreement shall be informed of such designation and assignment.

8. It is agreed by the Department of the Air Force that General Spaatz shall at all times be given access to the Papers described in Schedule B and shall be permitted at any time to withdraw parts of the papers or reproductions of them for temporary use.

For the Department of the Air Force:

HOYT S. VANDENBERG

*Chief of Staff, United States Air Force*

For the Library of Congress:

VERNER W. CLAPP

*Acting Librarian of Congress*

CARL SPAATZ

*General, United States Air Force, Retired*

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<sup>2</sup> Limited space prevents inclusion of the inventory (Schedules A and B), but a survey of the contents of the Collection is given below.



In fulfillment of the intent of paragraph 7 of this agreement, the Library of Congress has initiated a temporary project designed to bring all parts of the collection into harmony. On the basis of appropriate subject headings, a list of which has been compiled from a study of the better organized portions of the papers, a workable index is in process of preparation, though the bulk of the materials—well in excess of 150,000 pieces—has precluded any attempt to be exhaustive. The principal object of this project, which will facilitate administration and servicing of the papers, is to put the General Spaatz Collection on a footing with the other manuscript collections of the Library. As a by-product it is hoped that the experience gained in processing so large a body of composite organizational (as well as personal) records will prove useful in the handling of comparable acquisitions in the future.

### Some Aspects of Air Historiography

It is certainly a fact that in no previous war was the preparation of the history of organizations and events given so much emphasis, and at so great an expense, as in the Second World War. Each of the Western Powers seemed bent on vying with the others in the propitiation of Clio. In Germany the historical function was given a prominent place in the work of the General Staff of the Armed Forces and in the General Staffs of the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force. In Britain the Committee of the War Cabinet on History was presided over by the Prime Minister himself. In the United States a vast historical program involving the Armed Forces and all the war agencies of the Government was inaugurated and fostered by President Roosevelt to the end that the lessons as well as the accomplishments of the greatest of all conflicts might not be lost to posterity.

This determination of the President's set in motion a prodigious organization which drew from universities and colleges, libraries, and historical societies all over the Nation an army of teachers, scholars, researchers, and archivists, who were sent to the four corners of the globe to collect the evidence and write the story of American fighting men in action. There was no precedent for such an activity and no sure guide as to where the task should begin, what form it should take, or what goal it should strive toward. Some took the pedestrian view that war history was but an articulation of the hard-bitten and hard-ridden profession of journalism. Others had a vision of innumerable modern Tacituses sitting, by Olympian dispensation, with styluses poised at the elbows of so many communicative Caesars.

Official opinion—for these things were not left to chance or choice—was laid down in formal regulations and embraced neither of these conceptions. In the Army, of which the Air Forces were then still a component, the preparation of history was put in a class with the collection of other information and held to be a function of Intelligence. In divisional (or equivalent) and higher headquarters, it was therefore within the province of G-2 and, in tactical units of lower echelons, of S-2, and it was usually a responsibility to be discharged in addition to other duties. These arrangements, though inclined toward a statistical and not a reflective result, were not illogical and were definitely favored by considerations of accountability. In major commands and task forces, historians as such were designated to work sometimes under, sometimes independently of, the chief intelligence officer. The Air Force historical program was begun on this basis. The officers appointed to carry it out in the field were to record, authenticate, and forward to Washington on a periodic schedule the history of their units, but the final

history, the grand synthesis, was to be written in and published by the War Department.

In this scheme of things, the role of the field historian was not always a happy one. If he interpreted the regulations literally, he soon felt himself confined and saw his work suffering from what General Marshall termed "localitis"; if he raised his sights to broader, more elusive goals, he opened himself to the consequences of non-conformity, possibly to elimination as an adventitious cog in an otherwise smoothly running machine. That such could be true was the result of no one's intention but of a combination of factors which could not readily be harmonized. Faced with an urgent monthly requirement to produce a chronological narrative so "complete" as to require no supplementation or revision by the central historical agencies in Washington, the field historian was not left much opportunity for evaluating authorities, verifying sources, or differentiating between mere fact and significant fact. Nevertheless, he was plainly told that the over-all history could be no more inclusive than the sum of the instalments, with supporting evidence, forwarded from the field units.<sup>3</sup>

There were two questions the field historian might well have asked himself: How high up is a unit? And, how far down is "over-all"? In the case of such irregular organizations as those commanded by General Spaatz in Europe and the Pacific—the so-called U. S. Strategic Air Forces—these were pertinent queries, for what history does a policy headquarters have (other than administrative) if not exactly and precisely the history of the policies which the headquarters was established to carry out?

Apparently, then, in these circumstances the basic need—indeed the only profitable

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Historical Officers Circular No. 2, Hq. Army Air Forces, May 26, 1943.

avenue of approach—was to document so far as possible the process by which a concept—the use of strategic air power in war—was being realized; and this, it seemed, required a scope and viewpoint broader than the sphere of activity of any single organization or command, in which the ideas and experiences of our British ally and the German enemy must figure as prominently, or nearly so, as our own. At any rate, without the assumption that a paramount need of this kind did exist the papers comprising the General Spaatz Collection would not have been brought together in their present form and in their present bulk.

It was useful at the time and is not without interest now to compare British and American procedures for the collection and preservation of military documentation, especially that relating to the air. With the British, the historical function is an independent field of endeavor in no way subordinate to the military staff. In its organizational phase, it extends to all units, which are strictly required to keep and submit periodic reports of specific data, chiefly statistical in nature. There is no suggestion that the unit recording officer, as he is known, is to forward to higher headquarters everything which he may deem of interest. His task begins with the maintenance of stated reports and ends with the submission of a final report, summarizing the others, which is taken to be the unit history.

The broader actions of war, which consist of the campaigns and major battles, are treated in another way. For each significant command or operation there is a responsible commander, often called the commander-in-chief, who is given general tasks under directives from the Chiefs of Staff, and who on fulfillment of his assignment, be it failure or success, must submit a dispatch or account of his stewardship which is formally accepted by the Admi-



ralty, the War Office, or the Air Ministry, as the case may be, and at an appropriate moment is spread upon the public record. These dispatches naturally vary in quality, treatment, and wealth of detail with the literary competence of their authors, but the necessity of producing them, the fact of personal accountability through the written word, is a great spur to the collection and preservation of pertinent historical documentation. Faced with such a necessity, the British senior commander is likely to secure the services of the best qualified officer he can get to supervise the maintenance of a journal of events, assemble important records, and finally to assist him in the preparation of his dispatch.

The dispatch is usually too formal and too circumspect to be a very important historical document in itself. But the commander's papers, at least in the Royal Air Force, normally find their way into the Service archives where they can serve as the sinews of the official history when it is finally written. Before that time, however, a group of qualified participants is formed to write up the operational history of each phase of the war, each campaign and battle. Preparation of the official history is then, if feasible, entrusted to one or two historians of great eminence. After World War I, this task was performed by Sir Walter Raleigh and H. A. Jones, who produced the splendid official history of the Royal Air Force, *The War in the Air*.

The American system, on the other hand, is considerably less highly developed despite the great program which took root from President Roosevelt's germinal idea. It has, however, already produced important results which far exceed in scope and excellence anything hitherto achieved in the field of national military history, and it has not yet reached its full fruition. If the system has a defect, it is that the historical function has not been put directly and squarely at the highest level of

strategic control from which any war is and must be conducted.

For the preparation of military history, especially air history—the making of which takes place at so swift a pace and is so full of the subtlest nuances—to become a “front door” function, the full cooperation and understanding of the commander is the *sine qua non*. In war the commander is the final disposer, the arbiter, of everything that happens or is done. The sources of any history to be written are the sources which he creates or to which he has access. All war is a reckoning, a balancing of accounts, and it is not far from the truth to state that the quality of the historical documentation of a command or campaign is no stronger or better than the commander's willingness and ability to face rather than avoid judgments.

A final problem for military historiography is raised by two comparatively new factors of war, the impact of which is not yet fully appreciated. These factors are described by the terms “total war” and “coalition war.” In relation to historiography the meaning of “total war”—the nation in arms—is that logistics must be given a place equal if not superior to tactics and strategy. The predicate of “coalition war” is that the war effort of a single member nation no longer has historical validity because the coalition is not only an alliance of convenience, politically expedient, but a direly necessary union of logistically and strategically interdependent states which lose their identity in one another. This is especially true of the use of air power, for air warfare is not divisible geographically or otherwise. There is little point, for instance, in a general history—it could never be definitive—of American or of British strategic bombing in World War II. Except for their own techniques, which were in fact not so very different, the bombing forces of the two nations were pursuing a

common objective against a common enemy with indistinguishable results.

On a memorable occasion two years ago, Viscount Trenchard, the venerable Nestor of all air commanders, rose in the House of Lords to make an eloquent plea for a joint British-American history of the Second World War and later visited the United States in an effort to enlist American governmental support for such a project. Profoundly concerned for continued fraternal association between the two nations, Lord Trenchard has realized as clearly as anyone and more aptly expressed the sad consequences of one-sided history with its regrettable inaccuracies and distortions. The attainment of Lord Trenchard's ideal unfortunately presupposes a more general recognition of the basic fact of historiography, that history cannot be limited to a description or record or analysis of events but implies in the end a synthesis and a judgment of the acts of men.

## History of the Collection

### THE PERSONAL PAPERS OF GENERAL SPAATZ

*Origin of the Diary.* Although it includes much material of composite authorship, of the sort that becomes attached automatically to anyone holding high office, the General Spaatz Collection begins and ends as a thing personal to General Spaatz. In fact it is the personal thread running through it, at times boldly, at times very faintly, that lends unity and purpose to the whole. In practical terms this thread may be identified generically as the Diary,<sup>4</sup> though what the General calls by that name is in reality not a diary but a discontinuous

assemblage of documents personalized sometimes by actual composition, sometimes by a dictated comment, sometimes merely by a scribbled notation or initials. Thus, while the Diary is not, as some might expect, a series of confidential reflections or private disclosures, it derives a large measure of individuality from the fact that the items it contains were consigned to it directly by General Spaatz.

Through the career of one flying officer—albeit one singularly gifted and advantageously situated—this voluminous body of personal papers covering a period of 26 years documents, however sporadically, the unparalleled rise of American air power. And yet, to one unaware of that subsequent development, the preservation of such letters and memoranda as those from 1922 to 1925 which record the penurious, often uneventful, life of the First Pursuit Group at Selfridge Field might seem to have been idle or presumptuous. If we now deem otherwise, the origin of the Collection, especially of the Diary, must be attributed to the characteristic foresight and faith of General Spaatz who, perhaps unconsciously and in spite of himself, showed an awareness of the long-range importance of those early unglamorous preoccupations.

While the Diary throughout is of course a reflection of General Spaatz' official activities, it is peculiarly devoid of purely biographical matter. In this connection it is illuminating to observe, as a commentary on the progress of the air arm and the development of individual leadership, how broad and detailed a purview of aeronautical problems and events in and out of the Service fell under the attention of one man at that earlier, less complicated period, and how growth, experience, and advancement in career tended, if not to narrow the horizon, at least to point up interests and define responsibilities.

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<sup>4</sup> The term Diary in this report refers to all the materials which by nature and organization conform to the pattern of the Diary of the war years, which was actually so called. General Spaatz apparently did not begin to employ the expression regularly until the early part of 1942.



*Status Prior to World War II.* The method of collecting at the outset was curiously like that at the end. The largest bulk of material took the form of correspondence earmarked for preservation by General Spaatz but organized by a secretary or a clerk according to the prevailing Army system of filing correspondence. This usually meant a chronological arrangement under the names of the several correspondents.

From 1922 onwards, Diary materials accumulated at about the same rate and amount for every year until 1935, when there is a complete break. In that year General Spaatz held his last post as commander of a subordinate tactical unit and before it was over had been ordered to Washington as Chief of the Air Staff, U. S. Army. No Diary records were kept in that or in subsequent assignments for the ensuing five years, so that one might almost state it as a rule that when the General was without an operational command, and therefore without direct responsibility for troops, the Diary was not kept—a practice which may unconsciously reflect the Army tradition of maintaining the unit diary in the field, in contrast to staff work at a headquarters, which is more or less self-recording. After the war in Europe had broken out and General Spaatz, in 1940, had been given a special mission as military observer in England during the Battle of Britain, the Diary is resumed, if with less volume, still with a new vigor and urgency. The tone and mood reflect the fact that the incubative stage of air power is at an end and the day of trial in combat is beginning. In a report or series of reports dating from this tour of duty, addressed to General H. H. Arnold, Army Air Forces commander, General Spaatz made the far-sighted prediction that the Royal Air Force would hold the Germans at bay, that Britain would not fall, and urged that United States military

plans be premised on the use of the British Isles as the base of operations in Europe.

*The Diary in the War Years.* The active resumption of the Diary did not take place until the activation of the Eighth Air Force, to the command of which General Spaatz was assigned in May 1942. With the American effort still largely in the planning phase, during which conferences were especially frequent, there is rather a higher proportion than usual of personal comment and reflection by General Spaatz as compared with the number of actual letters and other documents included. In fact, historically speaking, the papers originating in this interlude are among the most valuable in the Collection, for they reflect at the source decisions, plans, and procedures vital to the subsequent conduct of the air war as a whole.

The wartime Diary was begun at Bolling Field and was carried by General Spaatz with him to England in June and to Africa in December 1942. In both of these places it grew each month as much as it had done in a year before the war. As he began to move about from one theater of war to another, General Spaatz became convinced of the wisdom of keeping his papers together in one spot. For this reason, in October 1943 all the materials collected through September of that year were deposited for safekeeping in the Pentagon in Washington, presumably on one of the General's rare wartime visits to the United States. When the U. S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe were established in January 1944, the most recent Diary accumulations accompanied the General to his new headquarters in England. In July 1944, the batch of materials covering the period September 1943 to April 1944 were joined to the earlier deposits in the Pentagon by Brig. Gen. Edward P. Curtis, Chief of Staff to General Spaatz. When in September 1944 an advance headquarters of the Strategic Air

Forces moved to the Continent, the Diary went along, first to Granville, then to St.-Germain-en-Laye, and finally to the General's personal office-trailer at his command post, near General Eisenhower's, at Reims. From this time onward the Diary was never far from the General's private quarters and was inaccessible except to one or two key staff officers who enjoyed the commander's confidence, and to the assistants who helped him compile it.

In July 1945, after the European victory, General Spaatz returned to the United States en route to the Pacific where he was to command the U. S. Army Strategic Air Forces in the final phase of the Japanese conflict. While in this country, the General added another instalment of Diary folders to those already stored in the Pentagon. All were to remain there, with only a few increments from the brief Pacific period, until February 1946, when General Spaatz succeeded to the command of the Army Air Forces. With that event, the entire Diary was for the first time assembled as an entity and housed in a small private room adjoining the General's office. Steps were then taken to introduce certain refinements into the organization of the papers: much duplication was eliminated and lists of the contents by months were prepared.

Nothing further happened to the Diary for another year and a half until after the reorganization of the national defense setup and the creation of the United States Air Force in September 1947, when General Spaatz, who had become Chief of Staff of the new independent force, moved his offices to a new location in the Pentagon. The problem of space more than any other consideration, it would seem, prompted the General to deposit his Diary in the office of Dr. Bruce C. Hopper, his former historian, who was then serving him in the capacity of special consultant. The physical reorganization gave a fresh opportunity for the

General's assistants to subject the Diary, over a period of months, to a rather thorough overhauling, and finally, at the General's suggestion, to a complete reorientation entailing the separation of the materials into categories. It was in this form that the Diary stood at the moment of General Spaatz' retirement in July 1948, and in this form it has come to the Library of Congress.

It should perhaps be mentioned that, throughout the period 1942 to 1948, certain other materials which must be considered personal to General Spaatz were also accumulated by him in addition to the Diary. These took the form of special reports, studies, surveys, and miscellaneous items, collected and preserved in a somewhat confusing mass, until after February 1946 when they were placed in the same room with the Diary and arranged, as far as possible, into subject groups.

*The Method by Which the Personal Papers Were Built up.* As has been indicated in another connection, General Spaatz, through the greater part of his official career, used a very simple method of designating Diary and related personal materials for preservation. As a young major in command of the First Pursuit Group shortly after World War I, he got into the habit of setting aside certain papers, above and beyond the routine office files, by marking them "Personal" or "My file" and, later on, "To my diary," with his initials, whenever an item appeared to have recurring interest. In the earliest period, papers—mostly letters—thus marked were processed by a clerk, often with the answers pinned or pasted to the original piece of correspondence and filed "chronologically" by the date of the paper which happened to be uppermost. This system, while a very unsatisfactory method of arranging documents, did not seem to give any particular inconvenience, probably because of the small volume of the materials involved.



As far as actual correspondence was concerned, the system was continued without much change until the five-year break in the series occurred in 1935. Such reports and studies as have survived independently of the Diary from the period 1922 to 1940 were apparently accumulated at random and kept entirely without organization.

With the commencement of the war Diary proper, General Spaatz, while continuing the old method of assigning papers for preservation, began the practice of dictating actual diary entries in order to record decisions reached at conferences, observations made in the course of field inspections, as well as reflections on operational problems and the general course of the air war. These entries the General sometimes wrote out in longhand, but as a rule only typed copies of his jottings found their way into the Diary. More often the entries were dictated to a secretary, and from the end of 1942 onward the keeping of the whole Diary became the responsibility of the General's aide-de-camp who thereafter also served as his private secretary.<sup>5</sup>

The practice of using the aide as keeper of the Diary and related personal papers was continued until the fall of 1946, some months after General Spaatz had become Commanding General of the Army Air Forces. The maintenance of his personal records from then until his retirement became the function of the administrative assistant in his office. The effect of this change was so complete an alteration both of the method of organization and of the type of materials preserved as to constitute, for all intents and purposes, a termination

of the Diary. Materials collected thereafter in the name of General Spaatz were in effect the private office files of the Chief of Staff, U. S. Air Force, and no longer the personalized and selective sort of thing they had formerly been.

#### THE OFFICIAL PAPERS, U. S. STRATEGIC AIR FORCES

*Beginnings of History in the Eighth Air Force.* In the Eighth Air Force—the first American air force to take the field in the war against Germany—history had an early if somewhat tenuous beginning. The Eighth's initial headquarters detachment had been in England barely a month when the public relations officer, Major Morrow Krum, was announced as historian, in fulfillment of Army regulations. Six weeks later, in August 1942, Major Krum was given an assistant, Lieutenant John E. Kieffer, who was to do the actual work of writing, after his transfer from an army corps in Northern Ireland had been effected. Lieutenant Kieffer reported on August 18, and on August 26 the publication of a command memorandum carried history another step forward. This directive set up at headquarters a historical committee of four members to coordinate the preparation of history throughout the Eighth Air Force and determine the procedure for the collection of historical data. Only one meeting of the committee is recorded. Held on August 31, it designated Lieutenant Kieffer as historian, in place of Major Krum, and determined that "in addition to the factual technical history" required by regulations "a narrative account should be compiled for the better understanding and interest of the general reader." Lieutenant Kieffer, who continued in his historical post only until October 13, strove to realize the committee's objectives. He produced a narrative which took the Eighth from its origins, in the activation of the III Air Support Com-

<sup>5</sup> Responsible for the maintenance of the Diary from 1942 to 1946 were Maj. Sy Bartlett and Maj. Sarah A. Bagby, General Spaatz' aides-de-camp; in the period September 1946 to September 1948 the Diary was reprocessed and reorganized by Miss Monica S. Weber, a former member of the Historical Section, U. S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe.

mand on August 22, 1941, through the month of June 1942, and for July and August appended a summary of combat operations. With Lieutenant Kieffer's reassignment, the historical function in the Eighth Air Force went into abeyance for several months.

The subject of history, however, was still an active problem. On November 7, 1942, General H. H. Arnold, Commanding General of the Army Air Forces, wrote to Major General Carl Spaatz, Commanding General of the Eighth Air Force:

That aviation provides the greatest single contribution to the combat power of nations in all the world's history is becoming more and more recognized. Consequently, it becomes increasingly important that the records of our participation, no matter by whom directed, with whom allied, or against what enemy, be accurately recorded and preserved for the final analysis of accomplishments as well as failures, and responsibilities for each. A historical unit has been established in this headquarters and its plans are being developed in detail. You who are in the field are asked to be certain that the history you are making is fully and accurately recorded, properly authenticated, and that it finds its way in a regular flow to us.

Later in November, Major Clanton W. Williams, of the Washington historical unit, visited England on behalf of Colonel Clarence B. Lober, his divisional chief, and finding the Eighth Air Force historical post without an incumbent promised that a historian would be furnished from the United States but would probably not arrive before the spring of 1943.<sup>6</sup> After Major Williams' departure, Eighth Air Force officials decided that, in the interim, someone should be named to collect and evaluate Eighth Air Force historical data, even if he were not to write the history. The 1942 period closed on this note of determination

to continue the search for a suitable historian. No permanent records had been collected, no files had been organized, and no attempt had been made to integrate the historical program in the command as a whole.

In view of the Eighth Air Force's preoccupation with operational matters, the lag in history preparation is not surprising. At an early public appearance in Britain, Major General Ira C. Eaker, chief of the VIII Bomber Command, spoke for the entire Air Force when he said: "We are not going to do any talking until we have done some fighting." The fighting had begun officially, in a small way, on August 17, in the air over Rouen. It took a sharp upward turn on November 8 with the invasion of North Africa. By December, General Eisenhower, the Allied Commander-in-Chief, had called General Spaatz to the Mediterranean to assume the direction of the Allied air forces, and General Eaker had succeeded to the leadership of the Eighth Air Force in England. Despite his policy of fighting first and talking afterwards, General Eaker was personally much interested in the current preparation of history, as he had shown by keeping a careful diary and issuing instructions on history while still in charge of the VIII Bomber Command. On coming to his new task, he was quick to follow up an opportunity to provide the Eighth Air Force with a qualified historian.

In March 1943, General Eaker learned of the possible availability of Bruce C. Hopper, Professor of Government at Harvard, who for more than a year had been working in Sweden as political observer for the Office of Strategic Services and who was then in London on a visit. Professor Hopper, whose field of interest was international affairs, in which he had had 20 years of experience as teacher, writer, and world traveler, was an old flier from the Ninety-sixth Bombardment Squadron, U. S.

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<sup>6</sup> Under date of October 30, 1943, the *Journal of the Historian*, Eighth Air Force, records: "Lt. Col. Robert George (Professor of History at Brown University and an old friend) arrived for [temporary duty] with the Historical Section."



Air Service, who had lived through the days of St. Mihiel and the Argonne when American air power, under the leadership of Billy Mitchell, first subjected its concepts of air warfare to the test of battle. Moreover, Professor—then Captain—Hopper had been the official historian of United States day bombardment in World War I; after the war, the work he had done in that capacity found its way into the tactical manuals of the Air Service, in which form some of the early lessons of combat were saved from oblivion. With this background, Professor Hopper seemed a happy choice, and General Eaker invited him to accept the post of Historian of the Eighth Air Force. Early in April, with the kind permission, firm support, and continuing interest of his then chief, Major General William J. ("Wild Bill") Donovan, head of the O. S. S., Professor Hopper consented.<sup>7</sup>

Professor Hopper arrived at headquarters in May, and during the ensuing weeks plans and policies for the historical work were agreed upon in conference with General Eaker. The General's concept of air history coincided with that of his Historian—scholarship concurrent with operations—a goal which neither was sure could be attained but which both were convinced was an objective worth striving for. Three focal areas for study and analysis were to be borne constantly in mind: first, a factual and comprehensive account of air operations as illustrative of technical advance and indicative of America's ability to de-

velop air power in a major overseas theater of war; second, the close collaboration of the Army Air Forces with the Royal Air Force; and, third, the political significance of air power for the eventual peace settlement and the postwar world. In consequence, the preparation of history on a scholarly basis required the collection, custody, and study of highly selective documentation from the individual unit upwards through the chain of command to the councils of the Chiefs of Staff themselves, and the working level of the historian had necessarily to be the level of the command to which he was assigned. By mid-July these ideas had been implemented by a series of orders ranging from an announcement of Professor Hopper's appointment to a letter-directive establishing a separate and independent historical section of headquarters to operate directly under the Commanding General and the Chief of Staff.

Meanwhile, back in the United States, the war history project was making important strides in spite of great problems of organization, indoctrination, and reporting procedure. In the case of air history, progress was sometimes impeded by a combination of factors which included the novelty of writing history on the colossal scale indicated by the huge national air effort, and the inertia induced by rigid, unimaginative regulations, together with the relative newness and semidependent position of the Army Air Forces in the military establishment. The policies of the Historical Division, Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence, for example, actually did not make themselves felt in England until the late summer and fall of 1943, by which time historical activity in the Eighth Air Force had already found its own *modus operandi*.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Professor Hopper had been in Sweden as the personal representative of General Donovan. It was General Donovan's conviction as to the necessity for correct assessment of our national war experiences, including the unprecedented use of air power, that led him to release Professor Hopper on loan from the O. S. S., first to General Eaker and the Eighth Air Force and then to General Spaatz after the establishment of the U. S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe in January 1944.

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<sup>8</sup> On this subject, Lt. Gen. Eaker wrote, on December 4, 1943: "I was, in the Eighth Air Force, however, faced with the position of doing something before any directive came from Wash-

The proceedings of a meeting of historians in London on August 18, 1943, exemplify the sort of unsolved coordination difficulties through which the isolation of historical work in the Eighth Air Force, originally merely a fortuitous circumstance, deepened into chronic but fruitful independence. Colonel W. A. Ganoe, Historian of the European Theater of Operations, indicated that he favored a strong centralized historical organization, with fixed duties and strict channels of communication, and evidently expected that his office would coordinate all history preparation in the Theater. He had in fact already informed Professor Charles H. Taylor, of Harvard, then on duty in the War Department Historical Division, that the Theater history office would submit a "current history" of the first year of operations. As the Eighth Air Force was the only American formation actually operating in the European Theater in 1942-43, such a history admittedly would have been in the main an air force history, and in any case could not have been written because the necessary documentation was not then available. Furthermore, it seemed inconsistent that the Theater Historical Section should expend its effort writing a "current history" of the Eighth Air Force when that sort of narrative, which was essentially not the concern of historians, was being done in a highly satisfactory manner by public relations and other agencies. Professor Henry Steele Commager, of Columbia, pointed out that the Historian, Army Air Forces, expected from the Eighth Air Force only a "first narrative" and not a finished history. Final writing was to be done in Washington, and no publication could be effected

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ington or seeing this valuable work remain undone. I do not believe I can be fairly condemned for having taken this needed action, or that my present establishment should be kicked apart and set up on a new basis. . . ."

except through G-2 of the War Department and the Advisory Committee.

In reporting the conference to General Eaker, Professor Hopper asked how these policies would affect the work of the Historical Section, Eighth Air Force. Very little, the General decided. The Eighth would still point to the preparation of its own history, as planned, with independent publication if feasible. Professor Hopper would remain in civilian capacity, despite regulations about officer historians, and, though the Eighth Air Force was a subordinate command of the European Theater of Operations, subordination did not extend to the Air Force historian vis-à-vis the Theater historian. The upshot was that the Eighth Air Force Historical Section, while cooperating to mutual advantage with the Theater history office, continued on its own way, at its own pace, and set about to collect its documentation and organize history in the lower echelons.

*Period of Collecting on the "Unit History" Principle.* Lacking more effective tools, the Historical Section, Eighth Air Force, began its collection activities by invoking the "unit history" principle laid down in official literature. The unit history was looked upon as the essential individual contribution of historical officers who, being on the scene of action, were charged with the responsibility of presenting facts and judgments to the Air Staff in Washington. The importance of assembling the evidence, bringing together the best primary and secondary sources, was therefore impressed on historical officers throughout the Eighth Air Force. All were admonished to prepare against the day when they would have to stand and deliver what had been done for history. With the object of enlisting the good will and respect of key members of the staff, the Historian inaugurated a program of brief bimonthly talks in the War Room on the future of air power and political



problems in the period following the victory. Largely for similar ends, periodic general conferences of Eighth Air Force historical officers were held at headquarters. Further, through interviewing commanders and outstanding personnel at all echelons, Professor Hopper was able to tap and record for later evaluation experience in planning and operations and to establish the reputation of historical work by educating the Air Force to the long-term significance of current preoccupations.

Good results were obtained at Headquarters, Eighth Air Force, by approaching general and special staff sections for their back files of key materials and copies of periodic or serialized reports they might distribute in the future. As prior research had narrowed down the number and types of items desired, only precise requests were submitted, so that the flow of archival matter thus stimulated was less great in volume than in quality. Where entire files of important papers were for any reason unobtainable, the affixing of a yellow label marked "Historical Document—Permanent Preservation" saved them from destruction. Like many other bits of practical wisdom, this label was borrowed from the Royal Air Force and the Librarian of the Air Ministry, Mr. John C. Nerney, a valued ally. The Eighth Air Force Historical Section's system of handling documents was developed in large measure through detailed study of the methods of accessioning, cataloging, and indexing in use at the Air Ministry archives in London and at Aberystwyth, Wales.

A windfall to the archival work was the agreement by the Statistical Unit, Eighth Air Force, to make the Historical Section the repository for basic statistical information on logistics, combat, and personnel. This action established an important precedent, and it was not long before other staff sections were forwarding their inactive files for historical preservation. In fact, a point

was soon reached where no *large* blocks of records were burned without consulting the historian! The most voluminous increment of the period was the complete files of A-4 Section, Headquarters Eighth Air Force, which were turned over for processing when that office was inactivated. Of more immediate use and interest was a batch of documents submitted by the A-3 Section, dealing with the dispatch of units and aircraft from England to the Mediterranean in the North African invasion. The acquisition of these records justified the initiation of a special research project, in which cables, teletypes, serial and special reports, formal correspondence, and anonymous pencilled notes were analyzed and then cataloged by unit of issue, and led to a not unprofitable search for additional related materials.

All the documentation acquired by Professor Hopper's Section between the time of its inception in June 1943 and July 1944 was organized into categories by agency of origin and filed with appropriate title subdivisions. The group of records processed by this method came to be known as the Source File, and, though through successive revamping and refinement it was later superseded as the main body of the archives, it continued to serve a vital function as the locus of all materials pertaining to organizational history as such.

The early problems of the Eighth Air Force Historian with respect to his documentary, as opposed to his narrative, responsibilities have a definite bearing on the scope and present organization of the official papers of the General Spaatz Collection, and therefore merit some discussion. The two types of responsibility were of course indivisible but, for reasons which will be indicated, each reacted on the other as something of a checkmate, with the practical effect, sometimes, of mutual cancellation. Thus, there was not only the not unusual opposition of interests between

the acquisitions and processing functions (with processing tending to lag as acquisitions advanced), there was also the pressing demand for narration, injecting itself into the archival picture as a time factor—in the form of programs, schedules, deadlines, short-cuts—and stemming in part from the key of urgency in which certain regulations were written and in part from a curious misunderstanding of the concept of “scholarship concurrent with operations.”

The desire to get something on paper was not unrelated to the first efforts made by the Historical Section, Eighth Air Force, to evolve a system of finding aids for use in connection with the materials deposited in the Source File. From the outset it had been the practice to calendar materials by preparing for each established source a card on which accessions were noted as received and ascribed a descriptive title. Once started, this system, though experience showed it to be clumsy and confusing, was difficult to dislodge because a change would have meant retracing one's steps at a prohibitive expenditure of time and precious energies. It was therefore allowed to stand, though it fell more and more into disuse and thereby lost what little value it originally had. In October 1943 an improvement was attempted by commencing a cross-referenced index to all titles in the Source File. Within about two months this work, which was begun with high expectations, had to be interrupted because the increased influx of materials required the attention of all available personnel for such preliminary processing duties as scanning and filing. Though the fact that this index was never resumed continued to trouble Historical Section consciences, it would admittedly have been unprofitable at that period to curtail the collecting of new materials for the luxury of refining those already in hand.

This experience with the proposed cross-referenced index did not by any means,

however, close the question of a suitable system of finding or searching aids, and the main impetus for further projects continued to be, not the custodial responsibility to organize documentary holdings in accordance with standard, or at least semi-standard, procedures but the feeling of many—perhaps the majority of—historical officers that narration should be not only the final objective of the historian but also his first and principal preoccupation. Even the collecting of documents, let alone their organization, was but slightly regarded by some, the real task being held to be the production of “copy.”

In some areas, where it seems to have been construed as excusing a glossing over of important details or as a pretext for hurried if expansive writing, the aspiration of “scholarship concurrent with operations” expressed by General Eaker and Professor Hopper was deeply misunderstood. In time, it became questionable whether the currently held idea of narration had much, if anything, in common with the original premise of scholarship. It would be reverted to later, but for the moment it was lost. Regulations called for narratives, with supporting documents, to be forwarded to Washington periodically; and, admittedly, narratives of a kind might be compiled from such daily and weekly operational data as were available. However, the point—which was not seen—was that scholarship, in the intended sense, presupposed above all a regular flow of materials to a central archives repository and the systematic reduction of those materials to an organized body of documentation oriented toward every phase of air power—concepts, weapons, men, and the problems of command, planning, training, and overall logistics, as well as of actual operations—albeit within a frame of reference appropriate to the level of the historian's responsibility. For the Historian, Eighth Air Force, and his more immediate asso-



ciates, the difficulty of obtaining and organizing the kind of documentation from which judgments and appraisals could be made inevitably postponed the day when writing could profitably be attempted; to others, it seemed the practical justification for the periodic narrative required by the official Army Air Forces' historical program.

With this difference of viewpoint in mind, one can see why, aside from the pressure of other duties, so little progress was made in the work of indexing. Having assumed the function of maintaining the central archives, the Historical Section, Eighth Air Force, had constantly to serve the narrators of the subordinate commands; and indexing is so laborious and painstaking a process that it was soon found to bear, in reality, little relation to the requirements of short-range narration. If the procurement of documents could not keep pace with the needs of the narrators, of what value was an index that had difficulty in staying abreast of even the more obvious, basic materials? On the premise of the periodic narrative or the special "hurry-up" monograph, the question was unanswerable, and the indexing project faded quietly out of the picture.

In passing, however, it may be well to mention one further effort of the Historical Section, Eighth Air Force, to introduce a system of finding aids through the use of a Kardex file of the so-called tickler type. Aware of the inadequacy of the calendar of documents then in use and convinced of the futility of essaying thorough cross-referencing (with title, subject, and author cards), one of Professor Hopper's early assistants began to concentrate his attention on the preparation of a subject heading list which could be applied to Kardex cards. It was thought that, as these cards were to be filed in a flat rather than a vertical position, a compact and handy reference list could be developed quickly for

the use of narrators. The plan was to give to each subject heading one or more large ruled cards on which the title or other description of each item would be entered and its location in the files noted as the processing routine was completed. There were two outstanding defects in this plan: first, the use of multiple entries on a single card, which made the order of accessioning the governing and, in this case, ineradicable criterion; and, second, the length and detail of the subject heading list, which had been arrived at inductively from an observation of external events of the air war and the over-all activities of the Eighth Air Force rather than deductively from a study of the nature of the actual materials at hand. If a simpler beginning had been made, better success might have attended the project and warranted its continuation. As it was, the complexity of the system proposed caused it to be abandoned when its author and advocate departed the Eighth Air Force for another assignment.

October 1943 was a month of meetings at which problems and progress were discussed. In reference to a standing problem, already noted, Professor Hopper was asked to draw a distinction between the terms "history" and "narrative" as applied to the responsibilities of Eighth Air Force historical officers. He replied that "narrative" was to be construed as factual presentation, without historical interpretation, whereas "history," which would employ the methods of research scholarship, implied a study of the relationships of dynamic forces and a criticism of the acts of men. Whether or not he was able to discharge it, his function as historian was to record America's delivery of air power to Europe and, if possible, to fathom its significance; the function of historical officers of Eighth Air Force commands and units in the field was to collect and present for evaluation every meaningful piece of information they could discover.

When dealing with subjects of infinite complexity and a high degree of technicality, such as modern war, the preparation of history is not limited to writing. Narration is the culminating step, to be taken late or early, depending on the requirements of the presentation, the state of usefulness of the source materials, and to a large extent on the temperament of the historian. This had been foreseen as long ago as 1895 when Lord Acton, in his inaugural lecture at Cambridge on "The Study of History," said: "We are still at the beginning of the documentary age, which will tend to make history independent of historians, to develop learning at the expense of writing . . ."

From past experience, Professor Hopper stated to his historical officers, he was inclined to be equally as cautious of precipitate judgments as of prognostications and therefore had tended to consider as premature the writing of monographs, as had been proposed to him. The Historical Branch, Air Ministry, was sympathetic to this view; it was their belief that preliminary narration carried on during the war was most unsatisfactory, having little value beyond revealing gaps in source materials. The main wartime job of the historian, they felt, was the location, collection, and processing of essential documentation.

As a final word on the correlation of records and writings, Professor Hopper added that the historical function in the Eighth Air Force and in the Royal Air Force was postulated on the written history, regardless of when it might be produced; the documents, though they were powerful conductors, were the means and not to be confused with the end. In fact, they were not the only means, as the raw materials of a true war history could not be confined to formal documentation. The minds of the men of the Air Force were a vital source, which could be got at only by interviewing the men and encouraging

the free expression of their own ideas. Thus, with the ultimate critique of American air power in Europe and its impact on Western civilization as the constant objective, the Eighth Air Force, by the use of certain techniques, was experimenting in capturing history in motion. For the present these techniques were: the establishment of an automatic flow of key documents, the preparation of current factual unit narratives, and the exploitation of the best air brains through the medium of stenographically recorded personal interviews.<sup>9</sup>

Ultimately, the Eighth Air Force produced two or three rather good preliminary histories of its major activities, and all these narratives originated in that period of 1943 when the historical work was in its formative stage and the processing of documents was still proceeding on the "unit history" principle. Each of the main elements of the Air Force—VIII Bomber Command, VIII Fighter Command, VIII Air Force Service Command, VIII Air Force Composite Command—was responsible for its own story and was permitted to develop for itself a program calculated to meet its particular functional problems rather than conform to any pattern indicated by Headquarters. The result was mixed; where Bomber and Composite Commands tended to stagnate, Fighter and Service Commands distinguished themselves by their initiative, comprehension of salient issues, and productivity. It would be difficult to assign a reason for this situation. Of the two operating commands, one fell in one category, one in the other, so that combat status was not the predisposing factor for or against the preparation of history; if anywhere, the answer

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<sup>9</sup> Included in the Collection are some thirty-five interviews with key personnel of the U. S. A. A. F. and R. A. F., supplemented by interrogations of German and Japanese commanders and high government officials.



must be sought either in the attitude of the commander or in the previous academic conditioning (or lack of it) of the working personnel.

The location of Headquarters, Eighth Air Force, and Headquarters, VIII Air Force Service Command, at the same station a few miles outside of London brought their respective historical sections into daily contact but not always into harmony. The Air Force Headquarters historical section, functioning as a reference library for historical researchers in the field and ultimately responsible for the over-all history, looked upon the collection of documentation as an indispensable duty. The Service Command historical section, with a narrower responsibility and a different point of view, considered the gathering of any but the most essential organizational records as an incumbrance to the production of their story. The Service Command plan was stated by its historian, Major Albert Lepawsky:

It is not intended to make this history a mere recording of the achievements and activities of individuals and units. . . . The principal object . . . is to trace the background and trends of the VIII Air Force Service Command as a source of reference for the Command and as a guide to current decisions and future policies. . . . A brief historical analysis of eight chapters [will be followed by] a large body of appendices, including the basic documents of the Command. . . .<sup>10</sup>

Lepawsky's goal was to have his history complete to date by April 1944 and, in the event, the goal was practically reached. At that date, however, the files collected by the Historical Section, VIII Air Force Service Command, were still meager, though proximity to the archives of Headquarters, Eighth Air Force, made this less of a problem than it might otherwise have been. The Service Command policy of "traveling light" would have been more difficult to

maintain without the fact of ready access to the Air Force archives.

At this period, Eighth Air Force plans for a narrative of its own were also going forward, and Captain Hanford W. Eldredge prepared what he called "The Eighth Air Force Outline History." The scope and subject detail of the "Outline" were largely determined by casual familiarity with the materials (gained in the course of processing) rather than by deliberate research. The "Outline History," while it had some interest as a plan or prospectus, had no practical value except to reveal that the staff of the Eighth Air Force Historical Section was inadequate to carry on narration simultaneously with the acquisition and processing of records. If anything, the experiment of Captain Eldredge tended to direct the principal emphasis away from narration and toward more intensive collecting by focusing attention on the gaps in the historical files as they then existed.

*Acquisition of the Spaatz Extract Diary.* The most enlightening acquisition of the period in which the collecting work was being done on the "unit history" principle was that of a diary in two volumes left behind in England when General Spaatz was called to North Africa by General Eisenhower in December 1942. This diary, which was found in a safe in the office of the Chief of Staff, Eighth Air Force, several months after General Spaatz' departure, bore the somewhat misleading title, "Spaatz Extract Diary." The title implied that the contents were merely excerpts from a larger and longer compilation, and it was not learned until almost the end of the war that, except for ten or a dozen items, the Extract Diary was in reality a complete carbon copy of General Spaatz' personal Diary for the period in question.

Study of these two small volumes of letters, messages, and journal notes did as

<sup>10</sup> Introduction, History of the VIII Air Force Service Command.

much as anything to confirm the Historian's belief that, to be effective, the final history would have to be written at the level and from the point of view of the Air Force commander, who alone had all the facts at his disposal. Where the data gleaned from the organizational and staff records which normally came to the Historian were vague and fragmentary, those covered by the Spaatz Extract Diary were incisive and clear. This discovery underlined a growing suspicion that the materials committed to the archives were not only incomplete but, because of their origin relatively far down the echelon of command, also did not reflect the true situation faced by the men actively responsible for the conduct of the air war, and therefore by the Air Force itself. Organization of the archives, which had always proceeded on an empirical basis, was greatly clarified when the documents contained in the Spaatz Extract Diary had been carefully examined and collated. The insight thus acquired encouraged the hope that a rational subject heading index might at last be evolved, and the archives personnel of the Eighth Air Force Historical Section began to direct their thoughts toward a reorganization which would to a large extent eliminate the unsatisfactory Source File.

*Effect of the Creation of Strategic Air Forces (USSTAF).* On January 6, 1944, the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff issued a directive establishing an air command, with headquarters in England, to be comprised of the Eighth Air Force based in the United Kingdom and the Fifteenth Air Force based in Italy. General Spaatz was announced as Commanding General, United States Strategic Air Forces in Europe, with operational control of both component air forces. At the same time, Lt. Gen. Ira C. Eaker, then Commanding Gen-

eral, United States Army Air Forces in the United Kingdom, was designated Commanding General, Mediterranean Allied Air Forces, with headquarters at Caserta, Italy.

This significant realignment of the American air forces for the final phase of the war in Europe created both a problem and an opportunity for the Historian. The problem, mainly, was that the status of his position, his archives, and his staff was for the moment uncertain. The opportunity was that any change—the breaking of the cake of custom, as Walter Bagehot put it—may shake loose crumbs of information—or files of documents—useful to the historian in his trade.

*Extracting of the Eaker Correspondence.* Months before the reorganization, General Eaker had intimated to Professor Hopper that at a convenient time the pertinent materials in his personal papers would be made available for use in preparing the Eighth Air Force history. With the General's impending departure the time, perhaps not too convenient, had come, and General Eaker consented to have the historical section staff scan his complete correspondence files, extracting or copying freely such papers as would help to complete the archives. The work of examining took three days and the work of copying two weeks, at the end of which time approximately fifteen hundred documents had been transcribed. In the next few weeks, these papers were studied carefully by members of the archives staff, and a complete "to" and "from" list on cards was prepared. Again, as with past projects of this sort, lack of personnel and the pressure of other business prevented this catalog's being carried through the successive refinements of cross-referencing and subject indexing. Nevertheless, because it represented judicious selection of key materials, it did serve later



on as a foundation on which to build.<sup>11</sup> The receipt of the Eaker correspondence, like that of the Spaatz Extract Diary, not only raised the Historian's hopes that comprehensive high-level documentation of the air war in Europe might yet be assembled but also spurred his archivists to attempt a definitive subject breakdown of the growing collections in their charge.

*Establishment of the Subject File.* The work of establishing the Subject File, as the new breakdown was called, did not begin until July 1944 though it had been under continuous discussion for some time. Hesitancy at the outset was natural, as the task involved not just the ordinary difficulties of setting up a new category of classification but the virtual reprocessing of large portions of the Source File, which then included more than twenty file cabinets of materials. Processing now became a complicated technique requiring close familiarity with Air Force problems, policies, and procedures, and the exercise of painstaking care and mature judgment. The Historian was fortunate in having in his organization a non-commissioned officer, George V. Martin, whose exceptional abilities and experience at the National Archives before the war made him the natural choice for the job of establishing and developing the Subject File. In fact, whatever usefulness the archives of the U. S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe have today is due in large measure to the intelligence and persistence of George Martin.

For the initial organization of the Subject File, the Eaker correspondence, which was more voluminous and covered a longer period (January 1942 to January 1944), was somewhat more useful than the Spaatz

Extract Diary (May to December 1942) in providing subject headings under which materials, hitherto lumped together by office of origin in the Source File, were reclassified and re-filed. While at General Eaker's request the correspondence was kept as an entity apart from the rest of the archives and left in its original chronological arrangement, analysis of its contents indicated not only that "aircraft," "airdromes," "air war plans," "build-up of forces," "combat crews," "German Air Force," "operations," "tactics," etc., were subjects of commanding importance but also offered clues as to what types of materials should be grouped consistently under those headings. Though it was never a complete or infallible guide, the Eaker correspondence, put to this use, set the pace for a system of classification later extended to the bulk of the materials which now comprise the General Spaatz Collection. In the official portion of the Collection as it is now organized there has been no major deviation from this original plan, and the Subject File, in its final bulk of eight file cabinets, has come to the Library intact as it was at the end of hostilities in Europe.

*The Quest for High-Level Documentation.* The period of collecting documentation on the "unit history" principle may be said to have ended with Professor Hopper's return to England after a visit to Washington in February and March 1944. Review of the Air Force historical program in Europe was necessitated by the formation of the U. S. Strategic Air Forces at the turn of the year. As the Historical Section, Eighth Air Force, had been redesignated as the Historical Section of the new organization, there was a question as to who should carry on in the Eighth Air Force, though the historical officer of the former VIII Bomber Command had temporarily assumed the function.

The conference in Washington included conversations not only with Colonel Clan-

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<sup>11</sup> In fact, in the work now being done on the General Spaatz Collection in the Library of Congress, the general system—especially the descriptive data included on the typical card—used in the Eaker correspondence is again being adapted and extended.

ton W. Williams, Chief, Historical Division, Headquarters, Army Air Forces, but also with General H. H. Arnold. General Arnold was deeply interested in the Air Force historical program and invited a full and frank statement of views and problems. Having toured the Mediterranean area and visited General Spaatz in November 1943, when plans for an over-all air command in Europe were in the making, Professor Hopper was more than ever convinced of the essential unity of air operations and their decisive effect on the course of the war, and emphasized to General Arnold his belief that the true task of the air historian was not so much to calendar operations or boswellize individual units or whole air forces as to prepare materials for a constructive thinker who would expound, in classic terms, the meaning and function of air power in history as Mahan had analyzed and defined the influence of sea power. The phrase, "the Mahan of the air," crept into the conversation, and General Arnold seized on it as expressing his own concept of the ultimate objective toward which the Air Force historical program must strive.

On this note the function of the Historian, U. S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe, was defined, with General Arnold's endorsement. Details, which included the sending of trained historical officers to take over in the Eighth Air Force, were left to be worked out with Colonel Williams, but it was clear that the Historical Section of General Spaatz' headquarters was to be freed from the responsibility of producing the routine "unit history" and, subject to General Spaatz' wishes, was to concentrate on seeking, selecting, and organizing high-level documentation of the air war with a view ultimately to the production of an analysis of the impact of air power on world affairs.

Returning to England, the Historian found that strategic bombing operations in his absence had been forging ahead, under

General Spaatz' new super-theater command, on an unprecedented scale. Owing to a favorable break in what had been a winter of exceptionally bad weather, the Eighth and Fifteenth Air Forces had been able to hammer away for five successive days at the German aircraft industry and then, a few days later, to renew their maximum-effort onslaught with attacks on the German capital. Even before Professor Hopper's return, General Spaatz' deputy commander for operations, Major General F. L. Anderson, had set the historical staff the task of chronicling and evaluating this series of massive attacks. The assignment presented no mean problem, and already a number of monographs, requiring research in fields hitherto closed to academic investigation, were under way. While a distinct diversion from the busy processing of materials piling up in the archives, the work proved in the end a bonanza for the new program whose approval Professor Hopper was bringing back with him from Washington. This cumulative effect resulted because the story of the "Big Week" cut across every major problem in the conduct of the air war and sent researchers hustling off in several directions at once to delve for documentation at the highest levels of responsibility in the European Theater.

It must not be inferred that these sources had been left entirely unexplored until the "Big Week" assignment was given the historical staff; they had all been assayed in one way or another but without conspicuous result. This assignment, however, was a new *démarche* because it represented the first instance of the Strategic Air Forces' operational chief coming to the Historian with a problem for solution. It presumed a disposition to put horsepower behind the Historian's needs and a willingness to listen to his findings—a *nouveau régime* indeed.



From April 1944 to the end of the European war, five agencies or offices were made the object of special historical liaison activities: the British Air Ministry, especially its Historical Branch; the American Embassy, London; the Combined Chiefs of Staff who, though operating out of Washington, were represented in numerous ways in England and later on the Continent; Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force; and the office of the Commanding General, U. S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe, which in effect included the office of the Deputy Commanding General for Operations.

(a) *The Air Ministry.* The Air Ministry was the special province of Major James Lawrence who had the task of documenting, if possible, the story of Anglo-American collaboration in the air. Personal relations with the Britons concerned, whether in or out of uniform, were invariably cordial; but the work itself was frustrating and the results meager. As the historical slate on collaboration was almost a complete blank on the American side, Major Lawrence had many queries to put to his R. A. F. colleagues; sometimes he received answers, oftener he was given leads. Among the problems he was to study were: British views on and early experience with day bombing; defensive tactics and the use of fighter escorts; the source of British opposition at Casablanca to the continuation of American day bombing; British plans for the reception and employment of American air units in the United Kingdom; British planning for the air phase of the cross-Channel invasion; and the source of British opposition to American proposals to establish a single over-all Allied air command, under the Supreme Commander, for the final phase of the war.

These were touchy subjects, but each was pertinent to an understanding of some phase of the Anglo-American air collaboration and, more than that, to the unraveling

of the deeply enmeshed skein of command and control. On both counts the topics were legitimate and necessary fields of enquiry, but Major Lawrence found his work stymied a large part of the time. The main point at issue, which was never resolved, was that the demands of American research trespassed into the realm of British State papers, and, for matters pertaining to the conduct of war, the State paper is a category of security as ineffable as the topmost military secret.<sup>12</sup> However, as a *modus vivendi*, the Air Ministry named Wing Commander Jarman to be Lawrence's opposite number, to work with him on the collaboration story, and above all to serve as the channel through which most confidential British documentation might be obtained. The two men were to try to stay abreast of each other's progress; when Lawrence needed information, he was to tell Jarman, who would consult the restricted British files. If he found an item pertinent to the query, he would take notes and pass them along to Lawrence. The system was hopeless, for it placed Jarman in an equivocal and Lawrence in an impossible position. Anything more remote from the methods of scholarly research would have been difficult to devise.

Nevertheless, the search for high-level documentation at the Air Ministry was not fruitless. Besides many useful items turned in to the archives on a day-to-day basis, Major Lawrence produced several thick notebooks of extracts or entire copies of valuable British papers, with careful notes on many others. He also obtained a complete copy of the Air Ministry dossier, including the all-important Air Staff "minutes" (comments), on joint British-Amer-

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<sup>12</sup> In this country, though the Department of State customarily publishes its confidential documents after a suitable lapse of time, proposals that Joint Chiefs of Staff papers should be similarly made available have been consistently rejected.

ican directives for day bomber and fighter operations for the period (approximate) May 1942 to June 1943. Wing Commander Jarman, in turn, worked up an annotated study of Anglo-American air collaboration from 1940 to September 1942, a copy of which was received by General Spaatz at the Pentagon late in 1946.

(b) *American Embassy, London.* In the early days before and just after the entry of the United States into the war, the American Embassy in London was virtually the American headquarters in Europe, and throughout the war period the Ambassador was the principal official representative in all business between the British and American Governments. From 1940 onwards, a stream of American military observers—Generals Marshall, Strong, Arnold, Emmons, Spaatz, and others—had done vital work in and from Grosvenor Square where the Embassy's radio provided their only quick and reliable communications link with Washington. Having some personal knowledge of the sort of business handled through diplomatic channels, Professor Hopper was convinced that the back files of the Embassy must be tapped for their contribution to the history of the European air war. The fact that Ambassador Winant was an old flier from World War I—and a friend—seemed to augur well for the historical liaison project which Professor Hopper undertook in person.

The outcome was a complete zero, for Ambassador Winant's permission to cull the files was never given. Although the Ambassador stated informally that he would be glad to oblige when he could go through the records conjointly with Professor Hopper, he apparently did not find it possible to carry out this intention before his death in 1948. The Winant papers have since been deposited at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Library at Hyde Park, but the contents, so far as they may

relate to air warfare, as yet remain unknown.

(c) *The Combined Chiefs of Staff.* Newly arrived in England when the "Big Week" assignment was given to the Historian was Captain (then Lieutenant) Charles A. Foster, and to him fell the task of monitoring and collating the special research program and its products. A student of diplomatic history and international relations whose thought and interest were not yet committed to any of the more routine aspects of the air historical work, Captain Foster was at once attracted to the intricate problems of command and control in coalition war. He stumbled into this inviting but treacherous wilderness while attempting to track down and identify from all points of reference the origin of the tactical plan for the operations long prepared for and finally executed in the "Big Week" of February 20–25, 1944. By the end of the war he had still not fought himself entirely clear, but he had gathered together an exceedingly valuable group of documents around the work of the Combined Chiefs of Staff in giving direction to the air war. These documents, while never so full or complete a collection as might have been wished for, represented the highest level of insight to which the Historian, serving the military, aspired. Because of their secret nature, these papers, which have since been expanded and reorganized, formed a special category which was never merged in any way with the general archives.

(d) *Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force.* In the late spring of 1944, preparation for the cross-Channel operation was the first call on all elements of the Allied command and especially on the Strategic Air Forces. In the day-to-day battle, however, the amphibious forces launching the invasion were supported tactically, on the American side, by the Ninth Air Force and later by the First Tactical



Air Force (Provisional) which were at all times under the direct if not immediate operational control of the Supreme Commander and his Deputy, Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur W. Tedder. However, the mission, supply, and control of all the United States air units fighting against Germany were integrally so bound up together that the Historian could not well omit documentation of their organization and activities from his purview. Moreover, both the Ninth and the First Tactical Air Force fell under the administrative control of General Spaatz.

In September 1944, at a moment when an Air Staff was being formed within Supreme Headquarters to coordinate the tactical air effort, a trained historian of unusual diligence and ability reported for duty at Strategic Air Force Headquarters. After a brief interval in which he familiarized himself with Professor Hopper's organization and established friendly personal relations with the staff, this officer, Captain David G. Rempel, was assigned as historian of the American component of the new Air Staff. In that capacity, he acted as an invaluable link between the strategic and tactical air forces in historical work, contributing to the archives materials not required for his own files and pointing out new sources of acquisitions as he discovered them. It was through this contact, for example, that voluminous data on post-hostilities planning and the proposed occupation air force were received.

(e) *Headquarters, U. S. Strategic Air Forces*. The main, basic source from which the Strategic Air Force archives were built up was of course the headquarters itself. The acquisition of materials from the various directorates and staff sections, as well as from subordinate units in the field, was a daily process, an inexorable flow. Presiding over this function besides carrying on the whole administrative burden for the historical staff of more than

twenty, was Major Stephen H. Stackpole, the mainstay of the group and Professor Hopper's principal lieutenant. It was he who established the archives, supervised their organization, and, after the war, effected their safe deposit at Air Force Headquarters in the United States.

As the war drew to its close, Professor Hopper's interest and attention were directed more and more to the untapped reservoirs of information within Headquarters, U. S. Strategic Air Forces. First and foremost of these was General Spaatz' Diary. Whenever the subject was broached by the Historian, General Spaatz dismissed it by saying that he did not wish his responsibilities as a commander to be in any way affected by the concerns of history. In the end, however, the General promised that his Diary would be completely available in Washington after the war when he hoped it would be used to document a serious, well-considered book on air power. In any event, the Diary was made partially accessible to Professor Hopper while hostilities were still in progress, and a very good condensation in the form of notes and excerpts was made, for ready reference purposes, of the official items dating from April 1943 to April 1945. The occasion for this condensation was the preparation of a very rough and sketchy administrative history of General Spaatz' headquarters.

Second in importance only to the Spaatz Diary itself was a similar compilation of records maintained by Major General F. L. Anderson, General Spaatz' deputy in charge of operations. A vigorous commander who was also a thinker, General Anderson had from the first been favorably disposed to Professor Hopper's work and, as circumstances demanded, had shown himself willing to act as its patron. When approached about his papers early in 1945, he consented to release a duplicate copy of his Journal up to the close of 1944, subsequent entries then still being in an active

status and having a direct bearing on current and future operations. The materials for 1945, unfortunately, were never acquired owing to General Anderson's rather sudden recall to a new assignment on the Air Staff in Washington.

When the Anderson Journal was compared with the condensed version of the Spaatz Diary, it was found that they duplicated each other in an exceptional number of important instances, and it was therefore decided that the Anderson papers should be cannibalized to round out the Subject File. This decision was encouraged by two additional facts: the Anderson Journal, unlike General Spaatz' Diary, was a collection of official documents and contained no purely personal papers; the copy of the Anderson Journal turned over to the historical section was organized into subject categories and not arranged chronologically as was the original which the General retained in his possession.

A final important acquisition originating within Headquarters, U. S. Strategic Air Forces, was the contents of the personal safe of Major General Edward P. Curtis, the Chief of Staff. This comprised a stack of notebooks, later dismantled, containing the minutes of important commanders' conferences, air war plans, and related planning documents.

*Status of the Archives on V-E Day.* By way of summary, it may be appropriate at this point to detail the status and composition of the Strategic Air Force archives as they existed on V-E Day. The bulk of the materials is indicated in round figures by the number of standard legal-size four-drawer file cabinets.

The Subject File, comprising eight cabinets, was a highly selective, alphabetized file in which documents dealing principally with equipment, plans, intelligence, operations, operating techniques, and bombing results were broken down into categories,

with appropriate subdivisions, on a least-common-denominator principle.

The Source File, comprising ten cabinets, had by this time been reduced, in essence, from a general file to a repository for organizational records and serial publications, which were still arranged under the name of the issuing office, agency, or headquarters.

The Mission File, comprising eight cabinets, contained separate dossiers, by days of operation, for every mission flown by all U. S. Army Air Forces units in the European Theater throughout the entire course of the war (in effect, from August 17, 1942 to May 8, 1945). Within each day's dossier, each mission was represented by tactical plan, flight plan, field order, pertinent radiograms and messages, strike photographs, and damage-assessment reports from both British and American intelligence sources.

The Secondary File, comprising four cabinets, was started in the spring of 1945 as an overflow repository for important materials not sufficiently germane to the problems of strategic air power to warrant inclusion in the Subject File. Like the Subject File, the Secondary File was organized alphabetically into categories but its breakdown was considerably less detailed.

The Unit History File, comprising fourteen cabinets, represented an almost complete collection of the locally prepared monthly histories of all the units of the Eighth Air Force—squadrons, groups, wings, and divisions—straight through to the end of the war. Regulations required that these unit histories be submitted each month in duplicate. One copy was forwarded to the Historical Division, Headquarters, Army Air Forces, Washington; the other was retained in the Strategic Air Force archives for reference use. Arrangement of the Unit History File was by name of the unit.



The special file of documents pertaining to the problems of command and control occupied a small safe which was kept entirely apart from the rest of the archives.

On V-E Day, therefore, the total holdings of the archives of the U. S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe amounted to more than forty-four file cabinets of materials, or approximately three hundred linear feet of documents. Between V-E Day and the return of the archives to the United States in October 1945, the Historical Section, Air Service Command, was merged with the Historical Section, Headquarters, U. S. Strategic Air Forces. Despite its original depreciation of the amassing of historical records, the Service Command now had an excellent collection of its own built up around the logistical problems of air warfare and dealing especially with such subjects as administrative and special services, armaments, aviation medicine, equipment, maintenance, personnel, and supply. These files filled another twenty-eight cabinets, thus swelling the archives to a grand total of seventy-two cabinets or four hundred and eighty linear feet of documents.

*Disposition on Return to the United States.* From October to December 1945, the whole mass of this material, crated and baled, was in transit between London and Washington. In December it came to rest in a Baltimore warehouse which had in part been converted into office space for personnel returning for assignment to the Overseas Branch of the Army Air Forces Historical Division. For four or five months, the Strategic Air Force group, still under Major Stackpole but now reduced to eight officers and three WAC sergeants, struggled against failing *esprit de corps* to round out the administrative history of the headquarters they had left behind in Europe.

Since his return from the Pacific in September 1945, General Spaatz, bearing

the title of Commanding General, Continental Air Forces, had been at work in the Pentagon, representing the Air Force point of view in the early phases of the Congressional debate on the "Unification" Bill. At the turn of the year, it became known that General Arnold was retiring, and in February 1946 General Spaatz succeeded him as Commanding General, Army Air Forces. Professor Hopper, who had been assisting General Spaatz since the early winter, now became special consultant to the Air Forces commander.

These changes signaled the establishment of a small history work center in General Spaatz' office in the Pentagon and the removal from Baltimore of the most significant portion of the Strategic Air Force archives—namely, the eight cabinets comprising the Subject File, the small safe containing the papers on command and control, and two cabinets of the more important classifications from the Source File. With this move the remainder of the archives passed to the Historical Division, Army Air Forces, for permanent retention, and, except for one officer and an enlisted WAC who joined Professor Hopper on General Spaatz' staff, all personnel were separated from the service or took up new assignments.

*History Work Center in the Pentagon.* Many of the duties performed in Professor Hopper's Pentagon office were unconnected with the materials which now constitute the General Spaatz Collection,<sup>13</sup> but in the course of two and a half years, General Spaatz himself set in motion five or six projects which did bear on the development, use, and final disposition of the rec-

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<sup>13</sup> Except the preparation of materials for use by General Spaatz in articles, speeches, and hearings before the committees of Congress, etc. In addition to items described in the text, the Collection includes four notebooks containing 95 addresses and articles dating from the period 1947-48.

ords which had been brought together in his name.

The first of these was the production of an important article, "Strategic Air Power: Fulfillment of a Concept." Written by General Spaatz (with Professor Hopper's assistance), this appeared in the April 1946 issue of *Foreign Affairs*. In the spring and early summer of 1947, General Spaatz and Professor Hopper again collaborated in the preparation of an article, "Strategic Bombing," which was inserted in *Ten Eventful Years*, the four-volume supplement to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Both of these studies drew heavily on materials in the Diary and the Subject File.

In August 1946 General Spaatz tacitly approved the appointment by General Eaker, then Chief of the Air Staff and Deputy Commanding General, Army Air Forces, of a five-man committee to prepare a full-dress report to the Joint Chiefs of Staff on the strategic air war in Europe and the Pacific. The committee, headed by Brigadier General Alfred R. Maxwell (former Director of Operations in General Spaatz' headquarters in Europe) and consisting, for the Pacific phase, of Colonels J. B. Montgomery and E. L. Sykes, and for the European phase, of Colonel Harris B. Hull and Professor Hopper, produced several drafts and was in the process of elaborating the final version of the report when General Spaatz decided to cancel the whole project on the grounds that such a study, while of historical interest, would not be required by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Again the Diary and the Subject File had been called into play. The considerable amount of work that was done on this project was not entirely lost as all drafts and versions of the report are preserved in the General Spaatz Collection.

This project, incidentally, had another interesting result. It was the feeling of General Maxwell that the problems of command and control had been of such im-

portance to the conduct of the air war that the committee should have at its disposal a thoroughgoing study on this subject. He therefore detailed Lt. Col. (then Major) W. Ross Livingston, of the Air Historical Division, and Captain (then Lieutenant) Marvin W. McFarland, of General Spaatz' office, to prepare a subsidiary paper dealing with this topic. When this paper on command relations was given its final form in the summer of 1947, it had reached the proportions of a full-length book of 400 typewritten pages.

Shortly after he had approved the establishment of the small history work center in his office, General Spaatz gave instructions that the Diary and the Subject File (now considered an appendage to the Diary) should be completed as a record of the strategic air war by the addition of any pertinent papers which might be found in the working files of the Air Force. Accordingly, as opportunities presented themselves, a search was made, and numerous papers were acquired by copying or withdrawing extra carbon copies from the files. On the basis of this same instruction, the papers which had been collected on the subject of command and control during the war were reorganized into a special file, henceforth known as the Command and Strategy File, and to the original group of documents were now added pertinent items from the newly acquired materials. Especially useful for this purpose were the records of General Arnold's Advisory Council, disbanded at the end of hostilities.

Several months before his retirement, General Spaatz directed that his Diary should be reorganized. The General himself set the pattern for this work by indicating three categories—"official," "personal," and "private"—into which he wished the materials to be divided. This revision in no way altered the actual substance of the Diary, its only purpose being General Spaatz' desire to be prepared if any future



contingency should necessitate a sudden partition of the materials into groups which could or could not under law be retained by him.

A final use to which the history work center and its records were put was the preparation of background data for the two articles which General Spaatz wrote for *Life* just prior to his retirement as Chief of Staff, U. S. Air Force. The articles, which appeared in the issues of July 5 and August 16, 1948, were entitled, "If We Should Have To Fight Again," and "Atomic Warfare."

## Analysis of the Collection

### THE PERSONAL PAPERS OF GENERAL SPAATZ

While some idea of the contents of the Collection has doubtless already been conveyed by the preceding historical survey, a more detailed analysis, with particular mention of highlights, is appended.

*The Diary.* The group of papers known as the Diary covers the period from 1922 to 1948 except for an almost complete break between 1935 and 1940. In total bulk the Diary occupies slightly more than two very full legal-size file cases and includes roughly 30,000 documents. Of these, less than 7,500 belong to the period before December 7, 1941, so that fully 22,500 pieces are devoted to the war years and the post-war years—almost to the day of the receipt of the Collection in the Library of Congress.

Any attempt to enumerate even the principal subjects represented by such a mass of papers would be more likely to confuse than to enlighten, and would certainly require more than one issue of this *Journal*. Admitting that what attracts one person may repel another, general interest—the interest felt by anyone who is curious to study the development of the U. S. Air

Force and the growth of air power—is the only criterion of selection.

In the days before 1939, the Air Service, later the Air Corps, was an exceedingly small organization. There were few men and, of course, far, far fewer airplanes. Everybody knew everybody else—and everybody else's business. Friendly, informative letters full of the news of record-breaking flights, tragic crashes, new wrinkles about pursuit, the latest bomber, the Navy, were constantly exchanged between young lieutenants, captains, and majors commanding flying schools, air depots, and tactical groups at a few old fields like Rockwell, Mather, Kelly, Ellington, Selfridge, McCook, and Langley. There are hundreds of these in the early Diary, and their tone, the atmosphere that they recreate, is what lends importance to the yellowing pages more than the bare facts they record. A few incidents, circumstances, and relationships of course stand out. There are significant reminiscences about the "old gang" who served at Rockwell in 1919 under Colonel "Hap" Arnold—significant because just thirty-two years afterwards many of that gang became the fighting generals of the Army Air Forces. There are regrets and many pros and cons a little later when Arnold, having rubbed the War Department the wrong way, found himself a colonel no longer. When a round-the-world flight is laid on, there is excitement, interest, and concern. After 1925 there is a trickle of letters from "alumni" of Selfridge Field and the days of Spaatz' command there, who look back and reflect that Mount Clemens was "seventh heaven" under "the Major."

The touch of Billy Mitchell is not absent from the early Diary. Over the years General Mitchell wrote Major Spaatz more than seventy-five letters, almost all of them holograph, but few if any have much to do with air power or the Air Service. Mostly they deal with hunting and fishing

trips, proposed or realized, but there are quite a few official exchanges between Major Spaatz and the War Department relative to the shipment to Washington of certain lost gear of Mitchell's after that intrepid general had crashed into the Ohio River on his way out to inspect Selfridge. Oddly enough, since General Spaatz took a well-remembered part in it, there is hardly a scrap in the Diary concerning the famous Mitchell court-martial. Nor is there any mention of the equally famous sinking by Mitchell of the *Ostfriesland* and other battleships.

Many letters of the pre-1935 period are taken up with matters that were passed over as routine at the time, like the testing of aircraft, recommendations for modifications and new designs (like the all-metal, low-wing monoplane, prototype of the B-17), the development of airways within the Air Service (the routes of which have become the main arteries of commercial air transport in the United States today), and the establishment of Service boards—the Maintenance Board, the Procurement Planning Board, and others. The organization of a separate air force and the reorganization of the national military establishment are naturally recurring themes, and the communications bearing on them are varied, interesting, and often important in the light of subsequent events. On a somewhat different plane, there are significant papers reflecting the growth of air ideology and the formulation of doctrines and concepts through lectures, articles, and informal debate. Recognized at one stage as an authority on pursuit aviation, General Spaatz produced a series of pamphlet studies, "Pursuit Tactics," "The Pursuit Pilot," etc., manuscript copies of which, with relevant correspondence, survive in the Diary.

If asked to assess the relative value of this older and smaller portion of the Diary, one would be tempted to hazard the surmise

that future scholars probing for the roots of a great development in American life may find it a richer and rarer source than the more voluminous, better organized, and—one might say—more dazzling papers of the Diary in its second period.

The later Diary (1940–48) commences with a file of miscellanea of which the most memorable items are the journal kept by General Spaatz during his tour of duty as a military observer in England in 1940 and a series of memoranda, prepared when General Spaatz was chief of the Plans Division of the Air Corps, on the air aspect of the famous destroyers-bases arrangement between Britain and the United States. Other documents in this group give some interesting reactions of the air leaders to President Roosevelt's call for the production of 50,000 airplanes in a single year.

The main body of the wartime Diary, however, does not begin until May 1942 when the newly formed Eighth Air Force fell to General Spaatz' command. Entries for the next few months reflect a universal preoccupation of the military with planning, and the minutes of several conferences with Generals Marshall and Arnold show that the role of air power was given weighty consideration in plans then being projected for an early invasion of the European continent. Also, the movement to England of the Eighth Air Force was a complex problem, and both journal notes and correspondence deal with the ferrying of aircraft across the hazardous North Atlantic. In one important letter written while he was still in Washington, General Spaatz proposed to General Eisenhower a scheme of command for the European Theater which, though rejected at the time, was substantially realized two years later, not through deliberate adoption but through slow evolution.

On July 21, 1942, General Eisenhower gave his first directive to the Eighth Air



Force commander. This interesting document avoided details but required the establishment of "air ascendancy" over Northwest Europe by the spring of 1943. In a follow-up to this, General Spaatz attempted to correlate impending plans to the broad strategic situation in Europe and, in view of the short range of available protective fighter aircraft, suggested the use of land and naval forces initially to seize a bridgehead in France as a platform for strategic bombing operations and subsequently to continue the advance of the bombing platform successively closer to the heart of the enemy. The plans on which both of these documents were premised were of course superseded almost at once by the decision to invade North Africa.

As it is obviously impossible to describe, item by item, the documents which epitomize the major problems and decisions of the war, the foregoing examples may suffice to illustrate the type of materials composing the bulk of the Diary. Security reasons, if no other, would preclude the mention of a high proportion of such papers, but the few references which have been cited can be multiplied easily in one's own mind. Keeping in view the main course of events, it need only be recalled that the man who is chiefly represented by these documents was concerned, at the operating and not the grand strategical level, with effecting the proper and most decisive use of American strategic air power to promote the success of all arms—land, sea, and air—against Germany, a stubborn enemy possessing powerful defensive air forces, carefully husbanded resources, a highly developed industrial war machine, and great technical ingenuity. The method and manner of discharging this responsibility is the keynote or master theme not just of the Diary but of the General Spaatz Collection as a whole.

The breakdown of the Diary of the war years into categories of "official," "personal," and "private" has already been stated but some further rationalization of these categories should be inserted at this point. In general terms, the "official" category may be said to include all operational directives and orders, all "through-channels" letters and reports to and from higher and lower headquarters, all cable and radiogram messages (including those marked for "eyes only" attention), all formal statistics, all awards, decorations, and citations of units and individuals. The "personal" group comprises all journal entries, notes and minutes of conferences, all letters with personal salutations to and from other commanders or other persons, British and American, all items in manuscript, any directives or orders affecting General Spaatz' personal status, and any special reports to General Spaatz as commanding general. No elucidation need be given of the "private" category, which is self-explanatory.

*Non-Diary Materials.* It is natural that General Spaatz in the course of a long career should have accumulated various materials which could not appropriately be assigned to the Diary. Matter of this kind amounting to two and a half file cases (ten drawers) must be included under the general heading of personal papers. In most instances, these items comprise very voluminous or very special reports; in others, however, they are actually addenda to the Diary. In the latter class are five ordinary shorthand notebooks filled with longhand jottings by the General and one sheaf of small loose-leaf pages covered with personal reflections in diary form for certain periods of 1924 and 1925. Two of the shorthand notebooks contain notes on the 5,500-plane procurement program (1939) and a round-up of opinion on the qualifications of command pilots; neither has ever been transcribed. The other three are the

longhand original of the journal which General Spaatz kept while in England in 1940 during the Battle of Britain.

In the report category is a sheaf of notes typed on medium-size ruled notebook pages and recording certain aspects of the Army-Navy war games off the west coast in 1930. The typing is followed by a few jottings in pencil, one of which announced that in foggy weather Army land-based aircraft "sank" two destroyers. Another item, which is perhaps of greater present as well as historical interest, is the full report of the record-breaking mid-air refueling endurance flight of the *Question Mark* in 1929. (The crew, with Major Spaatz in command, kept their plane aloft for 150 hours.) Of a considerable number of reports from World War II, two may be cited: the "Semimonthly Report of Bombing Results" of the Strategic Air Forces in Europe, 33 legal-size volumes; and the so-called "Coffin Report" on United States air operations in Europe, 7 volumes, including appendices. "Semimonthly Bombing Results" is a compilation of target photographs (strike shots and "before" and "after" reconnaissance), lists of primary and secondary targets for each mission, time, route, and weather data, together with American and British damage assessment and economic reports. The "Coffin Report"—known by the name of the officer, Lt. Col. Coffin, who supervised its compilation—was written in 1945 and analyzes the European air war by its major campaigns or phases. Preparation of the report was ordered by General Spaatz at the time of the Battle of the Bulge; appropriately enough, the first volume completed was devoted to the Ardennes campaign.

A smaller proportion of the materials in the non-Diary group might be described as miscellanea from General Spaatz' short tour of duty in the Pacific during August and September 1945. Of these a brief of

incoming and outgoing messages, called "The Commanding General's Log," is the most extensive and, as it contains many details of the Japanese war in its eleventh hour, might prove most helpful in research. Possibly the most historic of all, however, is a series of documents relating to the dropping of the two atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki by a B-29 airplane of General Spaatz' command.

The residue of non-Diary materials comprises a file of several thousand original "tape" copies of incoming radio messages, a smaller group of bound and unbound periodic and statistical reports, and a dozen or so presentation copies of histories of tactical units serving with organizations under the command of General Spaatz. To this listing might be added three large portfolios containing the scrolls and parchments representing some of General Spaatz' awards, decorations, and commissions, among which is the commission signed by President Truman appointing General Spaatz as the first Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force.

*Photographic Materials.* A previous issue of this *Journal* (Nov. 1947) reported General Spaatz' gift to the Library of Congress of his collection of photographs depicting the air operations of World War II. With the present acquisition the Library has now received a less formal body of several hundred pieces of photographic materials. Among these are inscribed pictures of many of the famous soldiers and statesmen who knew and admired General Spaatz as a colleague and friend, pictures taken at various functions and ceremonies, and finally, pictures recording certain historic events such as the German surrenders at Reims and Berlin, the briefing on Guam on the night of August 7, 1945, before the dropping of the first atomic bomb, and the Japanese surrender on board the *Missouri*.



*Clippings.* The clippings included in the General Spaatz Collection are not very numerous, although there are one or two interesting groups, such as those showing the press coverage of two such widely separated events as the flight of the *Question Mark* in 1929 and the homecoming celebrations on the return of General Spaatz from Europe in the summer of 1945.

#### THE OFFICIAL PAPERS (U. S. STRATEGIC AIR FORCES IN EUROPE)

A rather full account has already been given of the history of the several components of the official papers of the General Spaatz Collection and the general nature of their contents has been indicated. Nevertheless, a further brief statement of their contents may be of benefit to the researcher of the future.

*The Subject File.* The Subject File is at once the most highly organized and most readily usable portion of the Collection. A great mass of papers has here been sifted and arranged under some forty principal subjects or categories. This arrangement, particularly the somewhat heterodox or non-uniform breakdown into subdivisions within the forty main categories, reflects the slow build-up of the File along empirical rather than schematic lines. That is to say, the arrangers began their work without reference to any fixed plan or a priori standards, simply following wherever the materials led. Circumstances made this procedure necessary but the result shows that it was perhaps as sound as any other that might have been adopted. The subject headings of the File are general enough and flexible enough to permit their adaptation for use with other materials than those for which they were devised, and they are now in fact being applied as a guide to the preparation of a subject index to the whole body of the General Spaatz Collection.

There is therefore reason to assume that the same general system of subject headings could later be extended, with suitable modifications, to other similar groups of aeronautical manuscripts which the Library of Congress may acquire in the future.

The initial subject category of the Subject File—*Abbreviations, Definitions, and Codes*—is merely a tool to facilitate the use of documents the source or context of which is rendered obscure by those alphabetic over-simplifications which are intended to save time but often serve only to confuse.

*Aircraft*, then, is the first true subject heading. In this category a general folder is devoted to papers on aircraft by functional types, from gliders through attack, bomber, cargo, and pursuit: gliders; A-20; B-17, B-24, B-25, B-26, etc.; C-46, C-47, etc.; P-39, P-40, etc.

Under *Aircraft* the first subdivision is given over to *Allocation* with a general folder on that subject followed by a further breakdown into *Bombers, Fighters, Reconnaissance, and Troop Carriers*.

The second subdivision of the subject *Aircraft* is *Battle Damage and Recovery* which for no reason except the nature of the materials is limited to a single general folder, followed by an independent, titled report.

A third subdivision of *Aircraft* is *Conversion*, under which appears a special folder on a particular phase of conversion, *B-29 Program*.

The next subdivision under *Aircraft* is *Development*, consisting of a single general folder.

*Aircraft, Development* is followed by a new subdivision, *Aircraft, Employment*, with a general folder and one further breakdown into *Policy*.

The foregoing explanation is perhaps sufficient illustration of the methodology which is employed throughout the remain-

ing thirty-nine subject categories of the Subject File. Under many of these headings, in addition to the usual general or special folders of correspondence, memoranda, and general reports, there are special reports and studies comparable in interest and importance to those given above in the sample list from the non-Diary materials of General Spaatz' personal papers. In fact, there is some duplication of reports of this type as between the non-Diary section of the personal papers and the Subject File of official papers. This was inevitable, for the archivists of the Strategic Air Forces in Europe had no way of knowing what materials were going into their commander's personal collection and certainly had no idea that his papers and their files would one day be lodged side by side in the Library of Congress.

*The Source File.* It has already been pointed out that the Source File as it now exists in the General Spaatz Collection is a mere shadow of what it formerly was, but a 29-page checklist of its former contents is available for the inspection of any researcher who may wish to address himself to the Air Force Historical Group for permission to consult their files. Largely administrative in nature, the Source File represents many of the principal organizational elements of the U. S. Army Air Forces and subordinate commands in Europe and the non-Air Force agencies with which they frequently had to work. To some extent it is also a record of the internal operations of staff sections, staff coordination, and reorganization. Finally, it also includes certain periodical materials which may now seem somewhat out of place in such a file, but, as stated earlier, the Source File when it was begun was *the* file, and everything went into it, arranged under the name of the office issuing or originating the material.

Unfortunately for future users, the names

of the organizations which constitute the basic breakdown of the Source File are almost invariably given in the form of first letter abbreviations, *e. g.*, the Army Air Forces appear as AAF, which is simple enough, but it is more difficult to know that C. S. T. C. means Combined Strategic Targets Committee or that C. O. A. stands for Combined Operations Analysts. However, reference to the folder on *Abbreviations, Definitions, and Codes* in the Subject File will usually solve this difficulty.

The methodology of the Source File is very simple. With perhaps a dozen exceptions, there are only three possible categories of materials to be found under the name of any "source" (organization): (1) the title of one or more serial publications issued by the source, (2) a folder marked "Organization" which contains documents relative to the organizational history of the source, (3) a folder marked "History" which contains the official formally prepared organizational history of the source. In some cases, only one of these categories appears; in others, all three. In a few instances, the "Organization" folder may be supported by a special report on some phase of the organization's activity.

It should be added that the Source File is the repository for the correspondence of Lt. Gen. Ira C. Eaker, extensively referred to in other sections of this report. Also a part of the Source File is the Journal of the Historical Section, U. S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe (formerly of the Eighth Air Force), to which have recently been added the personal journal and correspondence files of Professor Bruce C. Hopper. On learning of the preparation of this report, Professor Hopper kindly volunteered to complete the historiography of the General Spaatz Collection by turning his own records over to the Library of Congress.



## An Evaluation of the Collection

The ultimate value of the General Spaatz Collection will of course be set by the scholars and researchers who have occasion to consult it, but it seems no exaggeration to expect that they will find it an ample justification of the policy of documenting an idea, rather than an organization, on which it was built up. For all its bulk it is inevitably no more than a fragment of the evidence which any appreciation either of the war or of air power would require, but it nevertheless provides a broad window on the conduct of the war as a whole and exemplifies the main outlines of the growth of the air service in the United States.

In addition to its use in the articles and reports previously cited, the Collection has also made important contributions to such unpublished official histories as those of the Special Observers Group, U. S. Army Forces in the British Isles; the Eighth Air Force; the Fifteenth Air Force; the Air Service Command, U. S. Strategic Air Forces in Europe; and the Air Staff, Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Force; and to such published works as the *United States Strategic Bombing Survey* and the *Official History of the United States Army Air Forces in World War II*. A check of the notes given at the end of Vol. I of the latter shows the extent to which papers in the General Spaatz Collection have been referred to; the list of

such citations can but increase with later volumes.

One of the most important features of the Collection is that it contains segments of the papers of leading aviation figures besides General Spaatz. Among the more notable of these, for example, are a sizable group of letters of General of the Army H. H. Arnold, important communications of General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, Marshal of the Royal Air Force Lord Portal of Hungerford, and the present Chief of the British Air Staff Lord Tedder, together with extracts from the correspondence of Lieutenant General Ira C. Eaker and the Journal of Major General F. L. Anderson already mentioned.

Finally, the Collection in its total aspect provides a not inconsiderable basis for the study of the philosophy of air power, and it was the hope that such a study might eventuate perhaps as much as any other consideration which appears to have induced General Spaatz to deposit his papers in the Library of Congress.

MARVIN W. MCFARLAND

[Mr. McFarland, at present Special Consultant to the Chief of the Aeronautics Division, served during and after the war as historical assistant to General Spaatz and Professor Hopper.]





# A Recent Gift from Mr. Fritz Kreisler

ON December 29, 1948, the Library of Congress received from the eminent violinist and composer, Mr. Fritz Kreisler, a gift of two musical manuscripts of outstanding importance: the autograph scores of Brahms' Concerto for violin, Opus 77, and of Chausson's *Poème* for violin and orchestra, Opus 25. Shortly before making this gift, Mr. Kreisler had announced his intention of selling his library at public auction and donating the proceeds to charity. He withdrew these two items from the sale, however, because he felt that they should no longer remain in private hands but instead should be made available to the public. They were then offered to the Library of Congress which gratefully accepted them and placed them on public exhibition immediately after their arrival.

This gift is important to the Library's collections not only because of the intrinsic value of the manuscripts themselves but also because they serve to strengthen a weak link in the Library's ever-growing collection of autographs. For some time it has been a matter of regret that this collection had so few important examples of works from the violin repertoire; needless to say, the arrival of two such outstanding works has gone far toward remedying this deficiency.

The Brahms manuscript in particular is of the greatest interest to the musical world<sup>1</sup> for its contents have long been the subject of speculation. It has been generally known that when writing this Concerto, Brahms sought the advice of his friend Joseph Joachim, the eminent violinist, and that the latter was responsible for many changes in the original score. It has also been generally assumed that these emendations were to be found in the autograph of the full score. It is therefore gratifying that this autograph is at last available for study in the Library of Congress.

The score is valuable to scholars for still another reason. Brahms was one of those composers who did not wish to divulge to posterity any difficulties they may have experienced in writing their compositions. He therefore destroyed almost all of his sketches, leaving only clear copies which contain at most only a few minor corrections. This autograph on the other hand is full of corrections and interesting changes. It does not give us the complete picture of Brahms at work, but it does reveal more perhaps than any of his other manuscripts. It should not be assumed that this is the manuscript in which Brahms made his first sketches or developed his original ideas. On the contrary, it was apparently originally intended to be a final copy but during the year of consultation with Joachim which ensued, it was worked over considerably.

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<sup>1</sup> This is in the nature of a preliminary report. A more detailed technical report on this manuscript is being prepared for publication in an early issue of the periodical *Notes* of the Music Library Association.

In order to understand the many alterations in our manuscript, it is necessary to review briefly the history of the composition of this Concerto. Brahms' friendship with Joseph Joachim went back to the days of his youth. In fact, it was probably Joachim more than anyone else who helped launch him in his career, and this close relationship with Joachim lasted throughout the composer's lifetime. It would only be natural to suppose, therefore, that on more than one occasion Joachim asked Brahms to compose a concerto for violin and orchestra. Evidence of this may be found in Brahms' letter to Joachim,<sup>2</sup> dated June 22, 1879 (J393), in which he announced that the Concerto was to be dedicated to him and warned him against asking for a concerto again. Brahms may have been a little uncertain of its merits, for about a week earlier, June 14 (S308), he wrote to his publisher, Fritz Simrock,<sup>3</sup> that he might as well dedicate the work to Joachim since "it is doubtful if I will write a better concerto!"

The story of this Concerto began about a year earlier when Brahms, apparently without previous warning, wrote to Joachim on August 21, 1878 (J363) that he would send him some violin passages on which he hoped that Joachim might spend an hour of his time. A fuller explanation came in a second letter to Joachim written the very next day in which Brahms apologized for sending only the solo violin part of a concerto to be written in four

movements. The composer expressed the hope that the violinist would correct it and indicate the passages which were "difficult, uncomfortable, impossible, etc." He was working on the beginning and wished to learn at once which figurations were clumsy for the violin. Andreas Moser, who edited the Brahms-Joachim correspondence, states in a footnote to this letter that it refers to the solo part of the first movement which remained in Joachim's possession until his death and which before the war was in the Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek in Berlin. A photograph of the first page of this solo part is published in Schnirlin's article<sup>4</sup> and is of interest to us in this discussion because the changes made on that page have been incorporated in our manuscript, proving that there was an earlier one in which Brahms made his original sketches.

Joachim's reaction to these first letters was most enthusiastic, and he suggested that they get together for a personal discussion of the problems. This they apparently did at the end of August or more likely the beginning of September. They met again at a music festival in Hamburg during the latter part of September. By October, Joachim had decided to give the first performance in Leipzig on January first of the coming year 1879, but Brahms at first discouraged it because he admitted that he was having trouble with the two middle movements. (See letters J369 and J370.) It was not until November 1878 that Brahms announced in a letter to Joachim (J372) that he had abandoned the idea of a concerto in four movements in favor of the more conventional form in three movements. This is important to us because it helps to date our manuscript as having been

<sup>2</sup> Johannes Brahms. *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim*, hrsg. von Andreas Moser. 2., durchgesehene und verm. Aufl. . . . Berlin, Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1912. 2 v. [Letters quoted from this work bear the letter J before the number.]

<sup>3</sup> Johannes Brahms. *Johannes Brahms Briefe an P. J. Simrock und Fritz Simrock*, herausgegeben von Max Kalbeck. . . . Berlin, Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1917-19. 4 v. [Letters quoted from this work bear the letter S before the number.]

<sup>4</sup> Ossip Schnirlin. "Brahms und Joachim bei der Entstehung des Violin—und der Doppelkonzertes von Johannes Brahms." *Die Musik*, vol. 21, no. 2, Nov. 1928, pp. 97-103.



written about the same time, for it contains no trace of the abandoned movements. Moreover, in a letter dated December 12 (J373) he mentioned that his copyist was already preparing the orchestral parts so it seems a pretty fair guess that our score was completed in November of 1878 and may have been started in September or possibly October.

The first performance of the Brahms Violin Concerto did take place on January 1, 1879, at the Gewandhaus in Leipzig with Brahms conducting and Joachim as the soloist. It was not a particularly successful premiere. The two main participants had met only a few days before the performance for rehearsals with piano. We can tell from the correspondence that Joachim had not previously had any opportunity to study the score in its entirety since Brahms brought it with him for these rehearsals. In fact, Joachim could only have had a few days' time in which to write his cadenza. Until the manuscript of this cadenza comes to light, we have no way of knowing if it was the masterful work which we hear today. What we do know, however, was that the Concerto as first performed on that date differed in many details from the work as commonly heard today. We know this by reading the correspondence and by a study of the manuscript at hand.

It is obvious that Brahms was still dissatisfied with the Concerto after this first performance, for he wrote to Joachim on January 21 (J378), asking him to work on the solo part which he still had. "You can only impress me by many suggestions and changes!" Moreover, three days later Brahms wrote another letter to Joachim (J379) which is of the greatest importance to us in our effort to interpret the autograph. In this letter, he asked Joachim to have someone correct the orchestral parts in accordance with the score which he was about to send, particularly those correc-

tions written in red. But there are two kinds of corrections in red in our score! One kind is in red pencil written in a bold hand—most likely that of Brahms himself—and the other is in red ink in an entirely different handwriting. Yet it seems safe to conclude that this reference was to the pencil corrections and not to those in ink which we believe to have been written at a later date for reasons to be noted below. Those in red pencil were apparently inserted by Brahms after the first performance and consist mostly of alterations of expression marks, such as changing a *forte* to a double *forte*. This same letter ends with a sentence in which Brahms again urged Joachim to make corrections in the solo part and in the score.

Joachim took the score with him to England where he played the Concerto with great success on several occasions when he may have tried out several changes before proposing them to Brahms. In a letter written in March 1879 (J383), Brahms continued to encourage him to suggest changes and stated that he was curious to see how often he would find Joachim's handwriting in the solo part and in the score. This last remark is of tremendous interest to us because although the corrections in red ink are undoubtedly based on Joachim's alterations of the solo parts, we cannot identify with certainty this or any of the other handwriting in the score as that of Joachim himself. In fact, we believe that he was most careful not to mar the score with his recommendations, preferring to make his suggestions by letter or other means. In a letter to Brahms written from London at the end of March 1879 (J384), Joachim stated that when he returns the score, he will insert white pieces of paper in several places where, for the sake of the soloist, he wished Brahms would make the accompaniment "thinner" either by eliminating the contrabass or by alterations in the woodwinds. In this letter, he also sug-

gested by musical examples an harmonic change in a *tutti* passage in the last movement. This would seem to confirm our suspicion that Joachim, who was a composer himself, did not wish to mark up his friend's autograph score. It is interesting to note in passing that Brahms did not accept Joachim's suggestion for the harmonic change in the last movement but there are several passages in the first movement where the double bass and certain woodwind parts have been eliminated, apparently in accordance with Joachim's suggestion.

Joachim retained the score for use in various performances until June of 1879 and made several other suggestions for changes in his letters, a few of which Brahms accepted in part and others which he finally rejected. After the score was returned, Brahms continued in close touch with Joachim however and even read the proofs of the Concerto with him in August of 1879. When Brahms sent the score to Simrock in June of that year, he instructed the publisher in two letters (S309; S310) on the proper texts to be used in printing the work. According to these instructions, the score was to be used as the basis for publication for everything but the solo violin part. A separate solo part was to be used in printing this violin part. Most of Joachim's changes were apparently first written in the solo part which he had been using in performance and it is to this part that Brahms seemed to refer. This is of interest to us because the score as we now have it contains the complete solo violin part as it was finally published but it is complete only because of the corrections in red ink which occur on so many pages of the manuscript. It seems safe to assume that these corrections in red ink were copied from the separate solo part into this manuscript by Robert Keller, an associate of the publisher Fritz Simrock, who was entrusted with the job of deciphering these

manuscripts and supervising the publication. His name occurs frequently in the correspondence between Brahms and Simrock. It also seems safe to assume that these corrections were copied into the manuscript in the summer of 1879, probably in July, and before the proofs were read by Brahms and Joachim in August because, in one instance, the red ink correction was not published but instead a previous version in Brahms' handwriting and crossed out by him was finally used. The manuscript also contains markings in blue pencil but these are obviously indications inserted at the last moment by someone in the publishing house in order to make matters clearer to the engraver. The letters indicating the sections of the work are also in blue pencil by the same hand.

We shall now attempt a very brief discussion of the extent of Joachim's contribution in the creation of this Concerto. Brahms was essentially a pianist and although he had successfully written violin parts in his chamber and orchestral works, he felt somewhat insecure in essaying a virtuoso concerto for the instrument. It was natural that he should turn to Joachim for help in this matter. One gains the impression, however, that Joachim was reluctant to make many changes, perhaps out of respect for the composition. Brahms constantly urged him to do more and on at least one occasion (J378) threatened to submit the work to another violinist not so expert as Joachim. (He is supposed to have done just this in submitting it to Hugo Heermann, according to a footnote to this letter.) In fact, Andreas Moser remarks that Brahms was more willing to accept suggestions relating to musical matters than to technical matters. (See footnote J386.) An inspection of our manuscript score, however, makes it clear that the reverse is true. There is little evidence of much change in the basic musical ideas but if we are correct in assuming that the alter-



Handwritten musical score for the last movement of the Brahms Violin Concerto. The page shows multiple staves with musical notation, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The text "Volo più presto." is written above several staves, and "Volo più presto" is written below the bottom staff. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "Volo più presto." and "Volo più presto".

Handwritten musical score for voice and piano. The score is written on multiple staves. The top system includes a vocal line with a melodic phrase and piano accompaniment. The middle system shows a vocal line with a sustained note and piano accompaniment. The bottom system features a vocal line with a melodic phrase and piano accompaniment. The score is written in a cursive style, typical of the late 19th century. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The score is marked with dynamic indications such as *pp* (pianissimo) and *ppp* (pianississimo). The score is written on a single page, which is the last page of the autograph manuscript.

Glorion - Bas Bel Air  
juin - juillet 1896

Ernest Chausson

The last page of the autograph manuscript of the POÈME by Ernest Chausson.



ations in red ink in the solo violin part were inspired by Joachim, most of them were made in order to make the work more playable. They occur mainly in the last movement of the score. In this connection, it might be interesting to turn our attention to the *ossias* (alternative simplifications). Brahms instructed his publisher in several letters to print these only in the solo violin part, not in the piano part or the orchestral score. In one of these letters (S318), Brahms apologized for the extra trouble caused the publisher by these *ossias* and explains that "Joachim considers my version impossible although he himself plays it and only added an easier one, etc." From this we can conclude that these simplifications were proposed by Joachim. There are however some passages marked *ossia* in the score which were not printed as such but became the final versions without alternatives being added. The reverse is also true since the first *ossia* of the last movement occurs in the score only as a correction in red ink leading one to believe that the publication of this version as an *ossia* was a compromise solution decided upon by Brahms and Joachim when they read proofs together in the summer of 1879.

All in all, we can say of Joachim's contribution that while not quite so extensive as some of us may have supposed, it served to make the work more practical and that he thereby earned the gratitude of all violinists who have followed him.

These are but some of the questions which can be answered by a study of this score. There are many others of a more technical nature which cannot be considered here. There is hardly a page in the score without a change or mark of some kind, reflecting the year of hard work devoted to the completion of the piece. That it was time well spent is clear, for today this Concerto is generally conceded to be

one of the greatest works ever written for the violin.

THE MANUSCRIPT of Ernest Chausson's *Poème* for violin and orchestra presents quite a contrast to the one by Brahms. It is a manuscript beautiful to the eye, written meticulously on paper of a fine quality without any corrections or markings except for a few in brown pencil obviously inserted by the publisher. The manuscript is dated and signed at the end "Glion—Bas Bel Aiz, juin—juillet 1896." There is, however, one similarity to the Brahms work, for the *Poème* was also written for an eminent violinist, Eugène Ysaÿe, and bears on the title page a dedication to him.

Eugène Ysaÿe, like Joachim, was a violinist who maintained very close contacts with the composers of his day. One of his closest friends was Ernest Chausson from whom he was constantly requesting new works. He particularly wanted a work for solo violin and this *Poème* is the result. Chausson was apparently too timid to undertake a concerto in the usual form and therefore decided on this less traditional form. As a matter of fact, he was inspired to do so by a composition of Ysaÿe himself called *Poème élégiaque*. Ysaÿe performed Chausson's *Poème* for the first time in Nancy on December 27, 1896.

The final acceptance of this work as part of the standard repertoire for the violin was owing in more ways than one to the efforts of Ysaÿe. He played it very many times in public and he taught it to his numerous pupils. He also was indirectly responsible for its publication. Shortly after it was written, Ysaÿe took the *Poème* with him on a tour through Germany. While on this tour, he met another friend, the eminent Spanish composer Albeniz. Ysaÿe showed Albeniz the *Poème* and informed him that the firm of Breitkopf and Härtel had rejected it for publication. Albeniz immediately went to the publisher and offered to

pay for the publication himself. This offer was accepted and the publisher wrote to Chaussou informing him that he had reconsidered his previous decision and would now accept it for publication. Chaussou never learned the true facts regarding this publication.<sup>5</sup> The edition for violin and piano was published in 1898 but the orchestral score was not published until 1907, eight years after Chaussou was killed in a bicycle accident at the age of forty-four.

Ysaÿe retained the manuscript of the full score for many years, in fact until February 2, 1931, when he presented it to Fritz Kreisler. On that day he wrote Mr. Kreisler a letter which is so touching that it is here reprinted in full:

Bruxelles, Le 2 février 1931

Mon bien cher ami,

Il me semble que je ne t'ai pas assez remercié du concours que tu m'as si gracieusement et si fraternellement apporté. Certes, je n'ai jamais douté ni de ton affection pour moi, ni de ta

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<sup>5</sup> Antoine Ysaÿe. *Eugène Ysaÿe, sa vie, son oeuvre, son influence; d'après les documents recueillies par son fils*. Brussels, Editions L'Écran du monde, 1948, pp. 315-325.

grandeur et de ta générosité d'âme. Mais, sans en avoir besoin, cette dernière preuve que tu viens de donner à ton malheureux et vieux collègue maintenant hélas! impotent et qui n'a plus même la satisfaction de jouer pour lui-même, me touche plus profondément que jamais.

Je voudrais te laisser un souvenir de ce concert et, après mûre réflexion qui m'avait décidé à te léguer par testament le manuscrit autographe de Chaussou, je ne veux pas mourir sans me donner la joie de te l'offrir dès aujourd'hui. Tu le recevras incessamment.

Je suis certain, mon cher Fritz, que cela te fera plus de plaisir qu'un objet quelconque et je dépose cet autographe d'une oeuvre que tu aimes, dans tes mains de grand artiste que je serre fraternellement.

Cette lettre eut dû être écrite de ma main, mais hélas! mon cher ami, j'aurais plus tremblé pour l'écrire que si je devais tenir un mi bémol près du chevalet en un long point d'orgue. Excuse moi donc et contente toi de ma signature.

Je t'embrasse, le coeur plein d'une affectueuse gratitude.

(S) E. Ysaÿe

The original of this letter accompanied the two manuscripts for which the Library of Congress is doubly grateful to Mr. Kreisler.

HAROLD SPIVACK  
Chief, Music Division



# Annual Reports on Acquisitions





# Americana

IT HAS been two years since the last full report on Americana was published in these pages<sup>1</sup> and the volume of material that has come in since then is quite formidable. Faced with a choice of putting together a long inventory of titles which, however indigestible, would have the merit of inclusiveness, or of selecting and describing those that are important or at least representative, the writer has adopted the second course.<sup>2</sup> One can learn of many other significant Americana not mentioned in this account by referring to the separate reports on rare books and to special articles that have appeared in preceding issues of the *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions*,<sup>3</sup> as well as to the rare books report printed elsewhere in this issue.

Chronologically at the head of our list stands one of last year's major acquisitions [see *frontispiece*]<sup>4</sup>—a fine, tall copy of the extremely rare first edition of *The Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*, which

Sabin (41726, note) calls "the first instrument ever digested and written out, for the entire and perfect government of a political body." The text ends with the date March 1, 1669, and the pamphlet presumably was published in London not long afterward. The Library's copy is in its original wrappers and is inscribed with the signature of the Scottish patriot Andrew Fletcher (1655–1716), of Saltoun.

In the *Fundamental Constitutions* can be found quite the most elaborate of seventeenth-century blueprints for regulating the political, social, and religious affairs of Colonial America. Drawn up at the behest of the eight Proprietors of the Carolina Provinces, they epitomize the reactionary sentiment of Restoration nobility. The system of laws they prescribed was designed to establish "the Interest of the Lords Proprietors with Equality, and without Confusion" and aimed to insure "that the Government of this Province may be made most agreeable to the *Monarchy* under which we live, and of which we live, and of which this Province is a part; and that we may avoid erecting a numerous Democracy. . . ."

The *Fundamental Constitutions* reflected the thinking of Lord Shaftesbury, but their actual composition is credited to his famous protégé, the philosopher John Locke. It is hard to picture the man who penned them in 1669 as the same person who, twenty years later, gave *Two Treatises on Government* to the world. But Locke served for a time as secretary to the Proprietors and, in fact, accepted the honorific title of "Landgrave" in the system of quasi-feudalism they imposed on their lands overseas.

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions*, May 1947, pp. 69–79.

<sup>2</sup> Donald H. Mugridge, Fellow in American History, was called away on a special assignment before he could begin this report. He was able, however, to prepare some very full notes which are embodied in the descriptions of five nineteenth-century imprints discussed later.

<sup>3</sup> Frederick R. Goff, "A Contemporary Broadside Printing of the Declaration of Independence," *ibid.*, November 1947, pp. 12–16; Vincent L. Eaton, "The Leonard Kebler Gift of Washington Irving First Editions," *ibid.*, February 1948, pp. 9–13; Report on Rare Books, *ibid.*, May 1948, pp. 61–67; Vincent L. Eaton, "Legislative Journals of the Old Northwest Territory," *ibid.*, August 1948, pp. 10–11; Nelson R. Burr, "The Charter of the Mormon City of Nauvoo," *ibid.*, February 1949, pp. 3–5.

According to the *Fundamental Constitutions* the Carolina counties were to be laid out into seigniories, baronies, precincts, and manors; under the Proprietors a hereditary nobility of Landgraves and "Cassiques" was to be created; and diverse functions of government were to be performed by officials bearing the titles of Admirals, Chamberlains, Chancellors, Constables, Chief Justices, High Stewards, and Treasurers. As for lesser individuals, there was this provision:

In every *Signiory*, *Barony*, and *Mannor*, all the *Leet-men* shall be under the Jurisdiction of the respective Lords of the said *Signiory*, *Barony*, or *Mannor*, without Appeal from him. Nor shall any *Leet-man* or *Leet-woman* have liberty to go off from the Land of their particular Lord, and live any where else, without Licence obtained from their said Lord, under Hand and Seal.

There would be a Parliament, to be sure, which would number along with its high-ranking members one freeholder out of every precinct who might be elected by his fellow freeholders; but his eligibility depended on possessing at least 500 acres of land, and those who owned less than a tenth of that acreage could not vote in the election. Furthermore the Parliament was forbidden to consider any matters that had not first won the approval of a Grand Council, consisting of the eight Proprietors and 42 Chancellors of the Proprietors' Courts.

Contrasting with these strictures on the right of the individual to take part in his own government are some remarkably liberal provisions for religious tolerance, which show Locke and those for whom he worked in a different light. Beginning with the injunction that "No Man shall be permitted to be a Freeman of *Carolina*, or to have any Estate or Habitation within it, that doth not acknowledge a God, and that God is publicly and solemnly to be worshipped," they continue with a long series of articles sanctioning individual choice of

faith and ending with an admonition that "No Person whatsoever, shall disturb, molest or persecute another for his speculative Opinions in Religion, or his way of Worship." Even the lowly slave is granted a freeman's privilege of attending a church of his choosing, though there is a careful proviso that he shall not thereby "be exempted from that *Civil Dominion* his Master hath over him, but be in all other things in the same State and Condition he was in before."

The system described in the *Fundamental Constitutions* was too intricate and impracticable to stay lastingly in effect; moreover the Lords Proprietors who attempted to impose the system were shutting their eyes to a section in their charter guaranteeing freemen a right to take part in forming their government. In time the constitutions had to be modified and in the early eighteenth century, when the hold of the Proprietors on the Carolinas was seriously weakened, they fell into atrophy. But many of the provisions, ill-suited though they were to the realities of wilderness life, were actually put into force, shaping early institutions of the Province and impressing themselves on the everyday existence of its people. Their memory lives quietly on today in the names of several South Carolina "baronies."

A most attractive piece of promotional literature is *Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America* (London, 1681), a 10-page folio tract written by William Penn or someone closely associated with him and published shortly after he obtained his charter from King Charles II. The Library has bought a copy of this earliest extended account of Pennsylvania (Sabin 59733; Church 671) which, as its opening sentences explain, was designed to attract settlers to the new Province:

Since (by the good Providence of God) a Country in *America* is fallen to my lot, I thought



it not less my duty than my honest Interest to give some publick notice of it to the World, that those of our own, or other Nations, that are inclin'd to Transport themselves or Families beyond the Seas, may find another Country added to their choice, that if they shall happen to like the *Place, Conditions* and *Constitutions*, (so far as the present Infancy of things will allow us any prospect) they may, if they please, fix with me in the *Province* hereafter described.

Exciting words these measured phrases must have been to men who first read them, and indeed the shrewd arguments Penn aimed at would-be emigrants have not yet lost their convincing ring. Disposing, first, of objections to "*Plantations* or *Colonies* in general"—really, by implication, offering strong points in their favor—he then describes the pleasant terrain of his new Province and touches on political freedoms the settler can expect to enjoy there. According to his charter, he writes, "the People and Governour have a Legislative Power, so that no Law can be made, nor Money raised, but by the Peoples consent" and he emphasizes "That the Rights and Freedoms of *England* (*the best and largest in Europe*) shall be in Force there." He continues with his thoughts about what sort of people would make the best colonists and details the equipment they should carry with them. His charter follows in full for all to study, and he concludes on both a lofty and an eminently practical plane with an exhortation to seriousness of purpose, an invocation to the Almighty to bless the undertaking, and a note telling just where to apply for more information.

Another very significant tract that the Library bought last year is Increase Mather's *A Narrative of the Miseries of New-England, by Reason of an Arbitrary Government Erected There* (Sabin 46708; Holmes<sup>4</sup> 79-A). This gravely worded

protest against the autocratic conduct of the British Royal Governor, Sir Edmund Andros, stems from the time when Mather was in England, trying to get back the Massachusetts Charter, which had been annulled in 1684. Completed early in December 1688, it is the first of five works he wrote on behalf of his fellow New Englanders. Mather's diary has a note that he showed it "to several lords, ministers, gentlemen, divines, who advised me to cause it to be printed," and Holmes places its appearance in print in London at about the middle of the month. The abdication of King James II, which became known on the 11th, gave Mather a chance to add a paragraph appealing to Prince William of Orange as the next sovereign of England.

In his tract Mather wrote sorrowfully of the plight of the "Sober, Industrious, well-Disciplin'd New Englanders," stressing the abuses to which the Charter's revocation had laid them open. Andros, he argued, had been placed unjustly in the Governorship by a commission of James II, instead of by election as had been prescribed in the old Charter; moreover, he had failed to print laws, had prohibited frequent town meetings, denied the right of habeas corpus, instituted taxation without a vote by the Assembly, invalidated land titles, and performed many other arbitrary acts that did not agree with English concepts of justice. "Thus hath *New England* been dealt with," he concluded. "This hath been, and still is the bleeding state of that Country."

The works of Increase Mather's industrious son would more than fill a five-foot shelf of books but they command respect because his contemporaries read them attentively and usually heeded what he said. Two more Cotton Mather titles have been placed in our collections—*Durable Riches. Two Brief Discourses . . . The One, Handling, the True Cause of Loosing; the Other, Giving, the True Way of Thriving* (Boston, Printed by J. Allen for V. Harris,

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<sup>4</sup> Thomas James Holmes, *Increase Mather: A Bibliography of His Works* (Cleveland, 1931), which locates only five other copies in American hands.

1695; Evans 722), and *Eleutheria: or, An Idea of the Reformation in England: and a History of Non-Conformity in and since That Reformation* (London, Printed for J. R. and sold by S. Philips, at Boston in New-England, 1698; Sabin 46301). The former is more engaging; it is an exposition of the way Christians should conduct their business affairs that shows us much of Mather's strong personality as well as of his mind.<sup>5</sup> One must admire his frank statement of why he chose to put his thoughts before the public; refusing to fall back on the standard excuse of being reluctantly "persuaded" by friends to turn copy over to the printer, he tells us frankly: ". . . no number of my *Friends* has ever, that I know of, *Importuned* this *Publication*, but the Offer is made, briefly, *Because I think my Neighbours had need be Told of these things, whether they ask to be Told of them or no.*"

George Keith's *Truth Advanced in the Correction of Many Gross and Hurtful Errors . . . Whereunto Is Added, A Chronological Treatise of the Several Ages of the World* was printed by William Bradford (1663–1752) in the year 1694. Sabin (No. 37224) assigns the book to Bradford's Philadelphia residence, but Evans (No. 691) correctly places it in New York, for Bradford, following his difficulties with the Pennsylvania authorities over the right to publish what he chose, had accepted an offer to print the official documents of the New York Assembly and had shifted his scene of operations some time before his thirtieth birthday.<sup>6</sup> Although preceded through his press by a number of broad-

sides and ephemera, this appears to be the first complete book he published in New York and therefore deserves special esteem. It contains a full statement of the controversial opinions of Keith and his group of separatists after their break with the orthodox Quaker brethren of Philadelphia. Our copy is quite worn and foxed but the text stands intact.

Among the numerous theological works of the first half of the eighteenth century that we have acquired, there are four titles bearing on the storm and stress of the "Great Awakening." Jonathan Edwards' *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God* (Boston, 1738; Evans 4240), a strong defense of his creed, is bound with his *Discourses on Various Important Subjects* (Boston, 1738; Evans 4239), containing five sermons "Delivered at Northampton, chiefly at the time of the late wonderful pouring out of the spirit of God there." An opposing view finds expression in *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New-England* (Boston, 1743; Evans 5151) by the influential Charles Chauncy, pastor of the First Church of Boston, whose list of subscribers was headed by the Governors of Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut. Even more orthodox in its outlook is *The Sovereignty of God in the Exercises of His Mercy; and How He Is Said to Harden the Hearts of Men* (Boston, 1741; Evans 4863), by the Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard, Edward Wigglesworth. The copy secured for the Library belonged to another prominent clergyman, Benjamin Colman, and bears his signature on the half-title.

One of the handsomest of all books produced in the American Colonies was the *Pietas et gratulatio Cantabrigiensis apud Novanglos*, printed at Boston by J. Green and J. Russell. Although dated 1761, the volume actually was not published until August 30, 1762. Two issues are known, one printed on ordinary paper, the other

<sup>5</sup> Thomas James Holmes, *Cotton Mather: A Bibliography of His Works*, Cambridge, 1940, vol. I, pp. 279–281.

<sup>6</sup> Charles R. Hildeburn, *Sketches of Printers and Printing in Colonial New York* (New York, 1895), p. 14; Douglas C. McMurtrie, *A History of Printing in the United States*, New York, 1936, vol. II, p. 136.



on fine imported Dutch paper. A copy we had the good fortune to acquire last year belongs to the latter issue (the Library also owns one on ordinary paper). The interest in the newly received copy is further enhanced by the fact that it passed through the hands of Jasper Mauduit, at that time the English agent for the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Typographically this is one of the handsomest specimens of fine printing produced in the American Colonies and represents the first extended use of Greek type in an American book. Although bound in brown morocco, the original marble-paper wrappers have been preserved.

Textually the volume comprises 31 Greek, Latin, and English poems by Harvard undergraduates, recent graduates, and other individuals, celebrating the death of George II and the ascension of George III. The volume was the suggestion of Francis Barnard, the newly arrived Royal Governor, who desired that the example of English universities should be followed by Harvard College. As such it is the first poetical offering from an American college to an English sovereign. The copy presented to George III is now in the British Museum.

Typical of the controversial literature of the period preceding the American Revolution is an interesting 20-page pamphlet entitled *Oppression. A Poem*, by "an American" who has not been identified, and with footnotes by "a North-Briton" who, if he was not the celebrated John Wilkes, seems to have shared some of the latter's flair for political nonconformance. Our edition is one of several issued during 1765 and was printed by Hugh Gaine in New York following its London publication (Evans 10113; Wegelin 704).

*Oppression* displays more passion than poetry. It pours its wrath on the economic policies of the British ministry toward the American Colonies, which culminated in

1765 with the much-hated Stamp Act. It names many names, but follows the customary practice of political lampoons of its day by omitting a few letters in them—a thin disguise that only the blind would fail to pierce. One passage in it has come to enjoy peculiar distinction among antiquarians and lexicographers; the *New English Dictionary* and other authorities cite it as the earliest discovered use of the word "Yankee" as an American epithet:

From meanness first, this PORTSMOUTH  
Yankey rose,  
And still to meanness, all his conduct flows;  
This alien upstart, by obtaining friends,  
From T[O]WN[SHEN]DS clerk, a M[A]L-  
D[E]N member ends.

Would Heaven that day! was dated in record,  
Which shin'd propitious, on one so abhorr'd;  
That day, which saw how threats and gold  
could bribe,  
And heard the HUZAS of a compell'd tribe,  
That horrid day, when first the scheme he laid,  
T'oppress AMERICA, and cramp her trade . . .

The "Yankey" referred to was John Huske (1721?–73), member of the House of Commons from Malden, who was so bitterly disliked across the water for supporting the Stamp Act that he was burned in effigy by former fellow-colonists. The "North Briton" adds this not too enlightening footnote: "It seems, our hero being a New-Englander by birth, has a right to the epithet of Yankey; a name of derision, I have been informed, given by the Southern people on the Continent, to those of New-England: what meaning there is in the word, I never could learn."

Two political poems of later vintage have some offhand British comment on events of the early Revolution. The better written of these is a pamphlet entitled *Ode to Mr. Pinchbeck, upon His Newly Invented Patent Candle-Snuffers* (London, 1776), by "Malcolm McGregor," a nom de plume of William Mason (1724–97). Christopher Pinchbeck (1710?–83), to whom Mason politely addressed his verse, was a

Birmingham craftsman whose metallurgical skill had produced an improved type of candle extinguisher, one which continued to be manufactured until modern lighting methods came into common use. Mason's poetic fancy combined with his Whiggish sentiment to make a spirited lampoon of the Tories' administration of English affairs, with incidental sallies at some literary contemporaries (including the great Dr. Samuel Johnson). In a climatic flight of imagination he envisioned the manufacture of a huge extinguisher of "Pinchbeck's own Mixt-metal" to

. . . quash the hot Turmoil  
That flames in Boston's angry soil,  
And frights the Mother-Nation.

With such a weapon, he declared,

Swift to the Congress with my Freight  
I'll speed, and on their Heads its Weight  
Souse with such Skill and Care;  
That PUTTNAM, WASHINGTON beneath  
And grasping LEE shall wish to breathe  
A Pint of PRIESTLEY's Air.

The reference in the last line is to "dephlogisticated air," discovered two years previously by the eminent Dr. Joseph Priestley and known now by the more pronounceable name of oxygen.

The other British bagatelle referred to above is *Bedlam, a Ball, and Dr. Price's Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty. A Poetical Medley*, a 23-page pamphlet also published in London in 1776. In none too skillful iambic tetrameter couplets it pokes heavy-handed ridicule at New England institutions, the Americans' uprising, and the disturbing ideas put forth by that staunch opponent of war with the British Colonies, Dr. Richard Price. Its anonymous author pictures a dreadful Utopia suggested by reading the *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America*:

. . . Faneuil Hall shall ope its gates  
To one vast realm of various states,

Where perfect Harmony shall bind  
Its millions in one single mind:  
For perfect Freedom will be there,  
Where each shall be the other's care.  
So dance the nymphs of various feather,  
And never knock their heads together,  
There all shall reign, refin'd from vice,  
Self-monarchs in that Paradise,  
And crown'd, like Sheba's queen, by DOCTOR PRICE.

Sabin notes 22 editions of the *Observations* during 1776, one of *Bedlam*. It is easy to see which caused more stir.

One poem by an Englishman that was read considerably in America was *The Art of Preserving Health* by the misanthropic physician John Armstrong (1709-79), first published in 1744 and introduced to the Colonies the following year by Benjamin Franklin's press. Recently the Library acquired a later edition, printed at Philadelphia in 1786, which is not listed in Evans<sup>7</sup> or Sabin. This literary curiosity was much admired by Armstrong's contemporaries for its elevation of style; Thomas Warton wrote of it that "To describe so difficult a thing gracefully and poetically . . . as the effects of a distemper on a human body, was reserved for Dr. Armstrong, who accordingly hath nobly executed it at the end of his Third Book . . . where he hath given us that pathetic account of the Sweating Sickness."

The publisher of this edition of *The Art of Preserving Health* was Thomas Dobson, whose "New Book Store" on Second Street in Philadelphia saw many famous patrons and browsers. On July 26, 1786, Dobson's advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* noted that he was currently selling "New setts of geographical cards; for the agreeable improvement of ladies and gentlemen in the necessary and pleasing study of geography; taken from the latest and best authors." This is as nearly as we have been able to date the issue of a pack of 63

<sup>7</sup> Unless Evans has erroneously dated No. 20204, which he places in 1787.



of these cards which the Library secured recently; they are without imprint and no year of publication is given. Approximately 3 by 2¼ inches in size, they contain information about the geography, latitude and longitude, form of government, religion, and population of some part of the globe. These facts are printed in color on one side only so that the owner might turn them over and test his retentiveness. The form of government for the United States of America is appropriately given as "The Whole one Grand Republic."

The Constitution of the United States went through many printings when the delegates to the Federal Convention finished drawing it up in September 1787 and gave it to the Continental Congress and the States for public discussion and ratification. One which we acquired last year is not described in Evans but appears to be a variant issue of his No. 20819 which we also have in our collections. The latter has as its heading "The Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser. [Price Four Pence.] Wednesday, September 19, 1787. [No. 2690.]" In the issue we secured recently this heading has been removed and the preamble reset to fill in the additional space. So far as the text is concerned both issues are the same, being essentially reprints of the official edition printed by Dunlap and Claypoole on September 17, 1787, for submission to Congress. Priority between the two issues has not been determined, but one inclines to the belief that Evans 20819 was the earlier. Both of them seem to have been printed by Dunlap and Claypoole for distribution apart from *The Pennsylvania Packet* and they both include at the end the Convention's resolution presenting the Constitution to Congress and George Washington's official letter of transmittal, which appear on the fifth sheet of the engrossed Constitution. The text is printed on four pages in single columns in each issue.

A companion imprint that deserves mention is a text of the Bill of Rights that was published while the first ten Amendments to the Constitution were still under consideration by the States. This eight-page leaflet was printed at Boston in 1790 for distribution to the people of Massachusetts and contains the two additional Amendments which were proposed by the First Congress but ultimately failed to be ratified.

Not far away from the birthplace of the Constitution, in Chestnut Hill, there was a sizeable German-American settlement. In December 1790 Samuel Sower, carrying on the traditions of a distinguished family of printers, began publishing the first newspaper to be addressed to that locality, *Der Chestnuthiller Wochenschrift*, and he conducted his business there for four years. Sabin was able to find only two books from Sower's press with a Chestnut Hill imprint: a revision of Daniel Fenning's well-known collection of computation tables, *The Ready Reckoner*, which Sower issued in separate English and German texts during the first quarter of 1793. The Library has had for many years a copy of the English-language version, bearing as its title *The Federal or New Ready Reckoner, and Traders Useful Assistant* (Evans 25477; Sabin 23977). Beside it on our shelves there now rests its companion volume, *Der geschwinde Rechner, Oder; Des Händlers nützlicher Gehülfe*, with the imprint "Chestnuthill, gedruckt bey Samuel Saur, 1793" (Evans 25476; Sabin 27220). We have also acquired still another edition which Sower put out in 1801, about six years after moving to Baltimore.

Sower's revision of the *Ready Reckoner*, a work which his father Christopher had published in 1774, was occasioned by the introduction of the national coinage system in 1792. It occurred to him that merchants might welcome a set of tables giving the values for different types of merchan-

dise in the new decimal equivalents and showing how currencies previously circulated among the States should be rated in terms of Federal money. Of the national coinage plan Sower wrote:

. . . the Legislature of the United States . . . wisely adapted that plan which cannot be exceeded for ease and perspicuity, and it may justly be said, that there is not a better regulated money in the universe: It is possible that some who are prejudiced in favour of old customs cannot see the propriety of such measures but . . . we cannot doubt but custom will soon give place to the plain and easy method of reckoning and keeping our accompts in Eagles, Dollars, Dimes, and Cents.

Next year will mark the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the removal of the United States Government from Philadelphia to the Federal City of Washington, and the Library of Congress will also have a sesquicentennial to celebrate. A broadside we secured last year consequently has more than passing interest. It is a prospectus issued in the spring of 1802 by William Duane, publisher of the Philadelphia *Aurora* and vigorous supporter of Thomas Jefferson, calling for subscribers to a new "daily paper" to be published by his son and himself in the city of Washington.

With the advent of the Democratic Republican Party to power, Duane had succeeded in vanquishing his Federalist enemies who had tried to silence his criticisms by having him imprisoned under the Sedition Act. Jefferson quashed the charges against him with a nolle prosequi. Had the Government remained at Philadelphia Duane would have been ideally situated as publisher of a journal favorable to and favored by those in power. But the move to Washington was a severe blow to his fortunes. It had been necessary to abandon his early plans to begin operating a press in the Federal City when it became the official capital, and by the time he was ready to make a second try two violently Federalist newspapers, the Baltimore

*Democratic Republican* and the *Washington Federalist*, had firmly established themselves as potential competitors. Meanwhile the move to Washington had cost Duane's *Aurora* some of its subscribers.

In the *Washington Apollo*, according to the prospectus we have acquired, Duane proposed "To diffuse correct information—to promote the public good—to sustain the cause of truth, and assert the insulted principles of the Federal Democracy of America." For his opponents there followed some of the uninhibited name-calling that was almost second nature to journalists of the Jeffersonian era:

To resist, repel, and expose those papers and their patrons, the present paper is now undertaken; to pursue the reptiles through their foul mazes, and apply the antidote in the moment that their poison is scattered abroad . . .

The *Apollo's* venture into preventive herpetology was short-lived; after putting out one issue on May 1, 1802, the paper died for lack of subscribers.<sup>8</sup>

An early District of Columbia imprint that has personal connections with the Library is a small blue-wrapper pamphlet presenting the *Congressional Directory for the Third Session of the Thirteenth Congress of the United States*, printed by Rapine and Elliot at Washington City in 1814. This was the Congress that held its sessions after British forces in late August of that year had paid their brief but destructive visit to the National Capital, and these were the legislators who ultimately approved the purchase of Mr. Jefferson's books to repair the loss of their Library. The directory gives the addresses of all the Members of Congress and brings up to date the locations of the several government departments. Since the President's House

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<sup>8</sup> Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers 1690-1820*, Worcester, Mass., 1947, vol. 1, pp. 98-99, which locates a copy in the American Antiquarian Society.



was in need of repair, Mr. Madison is noted as staying "in the house lately occupied by Colonel Tayloe"—the celebrated "Octagon House," which had the same function then as the Blair House today. Our copy of the directory has a signature fixing its original owner as Elijah Brigham, Representative from Massachusetts who (alas!) joined with most of his fellow Federalists in opposition to buying Jefferson's library.

A prominent Federalist Member of the same Congress was Senator Rufus King, signer of the Constitution of the United States, who is the subject of another pamphlet recently added to the Library's collections. The New York Legislature had sent him to the Senate in 1813; in February 1819, just before his term was to expire, it held an election and a triangular battle developed among Clintonians, Bucktails, and Federalists. None of the candidates was able to obtain a majority in either House prior to adjournment. Before the next session of the Legislature assembled, the ingenious young Bucktail, Martin Van Buren, decided to support King's re-election. He hastily prepared a pamphlet, *Considerations in Favor of the Appointment of Rufus King to the Senate of the United States* (n. p., 1819), of which he says in his *Autobiography* that "[it] was sent to the Members before they left home, and had, it was believed, considerable effect upon their opinions."

Van Buren's pamphlet, which the Library of Congress has owned for some time, is not very common, but the 16-page counterblast to it which the Library recently acquired, *Considerations against the Appointment of Rufus King to the Senate of the United States* (n. p., 1820) by "Plain Truth," appears to be rarer, for the National Union Catalog records only one other copy. Addressed, like Van Buren's, "to the Republican Members of the Legislature of the State of New-York," the pamphlet argued against supporting King

on the ground that his vote was "impregnated with the old federal leaven"; it would be better, wrote "Plain Truth," for them to remain an honorable minority than win an election with King's help. For those who might adhere to him on the argument that he had helped frame the Constitution, "Plain Truth" developed a surprising thesis:

. . . let it be remembered that the present constitution of the United States, is not the instrument which Mr. King participated in forming. The present constitution, is the one contended for by the minority in the convention, and which minority it seems represented the strong sense and principles of this nation, for they have since completely revolutionized the original constitution, and made it just as republican as that minority wished, and in attempting which they were overruled in the convention by the high toned principles for which Mr. Hamilton, Mr. King, and others contended.

"Plain Truth"'s not very convincing pamphlet is dated 1820 and may not have reached the legislators before the election; if it did, it must have had little impact, for on January 8, 1820, John Alsop King had the pleasant task of informing his father that he had been that day re-elected, by a unanimous vote in the Senate, and with only three "Nays" in the Assembly.

*Four Months in America* by "A Young Englishman," published at Olney in 1834 or 1835, is one of several recently acquired examples of a type of literature produced extensively for home consumption in the nineteenth century by purposeful visitors to our shores. Like many books of its genre it is more successful in portraying its author's crotchets and prejudices than in analyzing the American scene; feeble in spelling, punctuation, syntax, coherence, and logic, it comes close to being a caricature of some of the contemporary English travelers. Its anonymous writer left Liverpool in April 1834 in a sailing packet largely filled with Irish emigrants; after arriving in New York he continued up the Hudson

and across the Erie Canal, took the lake steamer to "Soronto," then made his way to Rochester, skimmed his eye again over New York city, and journeyed south to Philadelphia, where he remained for three of his four months in this country. The tone of his observations can be seen in his parting remark: "I wonder such a large tract of land, many thousand miles in extent, together with its beautiful rivers, lakes, canals &c., should ever have been destined for such a degenerate race."

One of the American phenomena of the 1830's was an intense interest in popular education that flourished alike in small town and city. Among our recent acquisitions are a number of ephemeral publications engendered by this enthusiasm, two of which will be described not because they were very important but because they are fairly representative.

The speeches by Joseph Ripley Chandler and Morton McMichael presented in *Ora-tions Delivered before the Northern Lyceum of the City and County of Philadelphia, at Their Anniversaries in 1837-8* (Philadelphia, 1839) are monuments of the Lyceum Movement. This began in 1826, when Josiah Holbrook outlined a plan for a "Society for Mutual Education," and various communities in Massachusetts and Connecticut proceeded to make his idea into a reality. A dozen years later it had spread far outside New England, with some three thousand local branches for literary and scientific instruction actively functioning. In their speeches to the Philadelphia society Chandler and McMichael, both of whom were prominent newspaper editors, agreed in a judgment that few can question—the Lyceum Movement, they told their audience, was a characteristic expression of the age which would have very remarkable results.

In Chandler's view the multiplication of Lyceums tended "to promote a fondness for rural residence, and thus to add to rural

population." The rich, he said, were to be taught a true use of wealth, thus placing their claims to respect and consequence on a high and enduring basis, while the "child of squalid poverty" might henceforth mingle in society, with means to claim its respect and powers to command its gratitude. McMichael suggested that the Institutes and Lyceums spread throughout the Union had already accomplished extremely happy results. "They awaken trains of thought, which, but for their quickening impulses might forever have slumbered, and reduce to practical application that which before was abstract and intangible." The Lyceums merited words of praise; they were to stay on vigorously in the intellectual life of the American community for half a century, until Chautauqua societies assumed their functions and they became mostly centers for popular entertainment.

Ezekiel Rich's *A New Self-Supporting System of General Education*, an obscure pamphlet by an obscure clergyman whose home was in the "cold hill country" of Troy, New Hampshire, also was directed at the educationally minded American public of the 1830's. It contained a lecture delivered before several meetings of educators and was presumably printed at Boston in 1838. The system urged by Reverend Rich was one he had pondered for a decade and had practiced in his own tiny community for nearly five years. It stressed teaching the young how to work with their hands, in order to prepare them for the responsibilities of adulthood and also to enable them to earn the fees for their education. "Any work is proper," wrote Mr. Rich, "that does not require too much noise, motion, or intense thinking; such as braiding, knitting, sewing, &c." Digressing upon this theme he observed that if only male adults could acquire some useful counterpart of knitting, they would become vastly more fit for female society and would



no longer have to tempt the ladies "to unite with them in childish amusements, dissipating pastimes, and demoralizing games."

As to formal education Rich strenuously pressed for oral instruction rather than book study, defending his viewpoint with psychological arguments. The minds of young people, he said, could better retain ideas and sentiments acquired through "the awakening and melodious sounds of the human voice, attended by its many natural, pleasant and powerful helpers, such as tones, inflections, modulations and emphasis." A combination of this kind of tutelage with the right sort of manual labor for eight, ten, or even twelve hours a day (depending on a pupil's age) would keep mind and body pleasantly occupied, affording nothing that the learner would find "difficult, tiresome, or disgusting." Rich's proposals did not have any visible effect on American educational theory and it is easy to envision how a Dickens might have enjoyed describing the abuses a system like this might invite. But that he had some genuine psychological insight can well be conceded.

The death, on April 4, 1841, of President William Henry Harrison was mourned with a great outpouring of pamphlet sermons, orations, and memorial addresses. One which was printed abroad was considerably more pointed and interesting than the majority of those produced at home. It is entitled *Proceedings upon the Death of General Harrison, Late President of the United States* and was printed in Paris in May 1841 by E. Brière (Sabin 30592). The copy acquired by the Library bears a presentation inscription to Caleb Cushing by Lewis Cass, who was then serving as Minister to France and whose address at a large meeting of "Americans sojourning in Paris" forms the body of the pamphlet.

General Cass told his audience that he had been a friend of Harrison's for almost thirty years, serving under him in war and

with him in peace. They belonged to different parties, Cass being a vigorous Republican; and he would not have voted for Harrison in the last election because he considered Van Buren "more nearly the representative of most of the political sentiments I entertain and have entertained since first brought into public life by Mr. Jefferson almost forty years ago." But this had made no difference to their friendship, and Cass was now concerned to refute the charges which members of his own party had made in the heat of a political contest. These charges, of Harrison's cowardice and military incompetence, he thought to be "as ungenerous in their form, as absolutely unjust and unfounded in their substance" and he rehearsed much of the military campaign of 1813 in disposing of them. As an instance of Harrison's personal courage he recalled the following anecdote:

The bridge over one of the deep tributary streams of the river Thames had been destroyed by the enemy to impede our approach, and a large body of Indians was stationed in the surrounding woods to prevent us from repairing it. The work commenced under the immediate direction of General Harrison, who sat calmly upon his horse, overlooking the operations, and exposed to the bullets of the Indians. Appreciating the value of his life, I entreated him to retire, offering to remain and see the work executed. But he would not listen to me . . . I read his thoughts in the surrounding circumstances. His army was new, officers and soldiers suddenly collected from various parts of the country, and it was necessary that their general should acquire their confidence.

In the past two years we have been devoting much attention to bettering our collections of the literature of the American West. A check of the well-known bibliography by Wagner and Camp<sup>9</sup> in the spring of 1947 showed that the Library of Con-

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<sup>9</sup> Henry R. Wagner, *The Plains and the Rockies; A Bibliography of Original Narratives of Travel and Adventure, 1800-1865*, revised and extended by Charles L. Camp (San Francisco, 1937).

gress then had more than three hundred, or about 71 percent, of the 428 original narratives of Western exploration listed there—a very creditable showing that compares favorably with the holdings of most other libraries in this field. Through exchanging some of our duplicates we have made a small beginning toward completing our set of these pioneer accounts of the Westward movement, and we hope also to secure more of the rarer imprints that have come to assume importance because of their historical associations with those who pushed their way across the continent.

One such imprint, received through an exchange transaction, is an extremely hard-to-find edition of the text of the Charter of Nauvoo, printed in that city in July 1842 three years after Joseph Smith and his followers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints had settled there. It comprises eight pages and is entitled *The City Charter: Laws, Ordinances, and Acts of the City Council of the City of Nauvoo. And Also, the Ordinances of the Nauvoo Legion*. The National Union Catalog locates no other copy of this eight-page edition although one of seven pages is in the Harvard University Library.

An article on this imprint has already been published in the *Quarterly Journal*, February 1949, pp. 3–5, so that it is not necessary here to describe it at great length. An extraordinary document, the Charter (approved by the Illinois Legislature in December 1840) not only sanctioned what was virtually an *imperium in imperio* under Joseph Smith but even allowed the Mormons an independent military establishment, the “Nauvoo Legion.” The ordinances of this Legion that are mentioned on the title page are not to be found as a separate part of this text, which nevertheless appears to be complete.

Through another exchange transaction we acquired seven Wagner-Camp pieces not in our collections. The most impor-

tant of these is an eight-page leaflet bearing the caption title *General Epistle from the Council of the Twelve Apostles, to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Abroad, Dispersed throughout the Earth*. . . . It has no imprint, but the closing paragraph, above the name of Brigham Young, states that the *Epistle* was “Written at Winter Quarters, Omaha Nation, west bank of Missouri River, near Council Bluffs, North America, and signed December 23d, 1847 . . .”

That this is the first edition of the *General Epistle* there seems no doubt, and Douglas C. McMurtrie has brought forth evidence that it was actually printed at the Mormon’s Winter Quarters soon after it had been drawn up by Young and his fellow Councillors.<sup>10</sup> Hence it is a rather rare and dramatic piece of Americana quite apart from its text, for the location of the Mormon encampment—near the present site of the town of Florence—fixes it as the earliest known example of printing in the State of Nebraska.

The *General Epistle* presents a vivid picture of hardship surmounted and a hopeful call for further effort. It begins by detailing what had befallen the Mormon emigrants since their departure from Nauvoo in February 1846 and it touches on the troubles they had undergone from winter cold, food shortage, and Indian depredations. Nevertheless, it declares:

The Saints in this vicinity are bearing their privations in meekness and patience, and making all their exertions tend to their removal west-

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<sup>10</sup> In *The General Epistle of the Latter Day Saints* (Chicago, 1935). His argument includes these points: (1) page 6 carries a mention that “We have a printing press”; (2) from other sources it can be shown that the Mormons had at least two presses among their equipment; (3) the printing style of this edition resembles that of early Salt Lake City imprints; and (4) since it was reprinted abroad as early as March 15, 1848, it must have been published and distributed very shortly after the text was completed.



ward. Their hearts and all their labors are towards the setting sun, for they desire to be so far removed from those who have been their oppressors, that there shall be an everlasting barrier between them and future persecution . . .

Describing how an advance party had selected a site far to the West for their permanent settlement, it calls on members of the Church throughout the world to leave their homes and

Gather . . . together speedily, near to this place, on the east side of the Missouri River, and, if possible, be ready to start from hence by the first of May next, or as soon as grass is sufficiently grown and go to the Great Salt Lake City, with bread stuff sufficient to sustain the following season.

What happened after this call went forth is well-known history.

Other Western Americana acquired by exchange include copies of Sylvester Crakes' *Five Years a Captive among the Black-feet Indians* (Columbus, 1858), Isaac Ingalls Stevens' *A Circular Letter to Emigrants Desirous of Locating in Washington Territory* (Washington, D. C., 1858), William S. Rockwell's *Colorado: Its Mineral and Agricultural Resources* (New York, 1864), and A. Blatchly's *The Silver Mines of Nevada* (New York, 1865). These are designated as Nos. 299, 311, 405, and 409 in Wagner-Camp. We also obtained a copy of the "Map of Oregon, California, New Mexico, N. W. Texas, & the proposed Territory of Ne-bras-ka" which was intended to appear in Rufus B. Sage's *Scenes in the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia, 1846), but has been lacking in our copy and, in fact, is rarely if ever found in the book at all. It is pleasant to complete the contents of a narrative which, though its style is jocular and light-hearted, is as reliable a description of mountain existence during its period as can be found.

Among the literary Americana that have not been treated separately in the rare books report, there is one piece that rates the bibliographer's attention because it is

the first book printing of a poem that was destined to become famous. Late in 1844 George Vandenhoff, an English-born actor who had trod the boards of many an American stage as Hamlet, Mercutio, Macbeth, and other favorite characters, published a volume entitled *A Plain System of Elocution* setting forth various principles of speech and recitation which he had been teaching to students in New York. A few months later he decided to put out a second edition, observing that "The numerous classes of elegant and accomplished ladies" who had read with him "in the houses of families of the highest standing and respectability" had demonstrated that there was real appreciation of the art of elocution "as an indispensable female requirement." One of the pieces that he selected for this second edition as models for his pupils to recite was entitled "The Raven" and its author's name was given as "E. A. Poe."

"The Raven" had first appeared in the New York *Evening Mirror* of January 29, 1845, a few days in advance of the *American Review*, to which Poe had originally submitted it. A number of other journals reprinted it immediately, but until recently its earliest appearance in a book was believed to have been in Poe's *The Raven and Other Poems*, published at New York in November 1845. Thomas O. Mabbott has demonstrated, however, that Vandenhoff's volume appeared in that city no later than September or October, thus according it clear priority.<sup>11</sup> An anonymous contemporary reviewer commented petulantly in the *Aristidean* magazine about the "host . . . of typographical blunders" in Vandenhoff's book, going on to say that "Mr. POE'S 'Raven' is shamefully mangled." Very probably, as Mr. Mabbott

<sup>11</sup> "The First Book Publication of Poe's Raven," in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 1943, vol. 47, no. 8.

points out, the reviewer was Poe directing attention to himself!

Our collections of American fiction are very creditable, so much so that it seems worth while to continue building them toward completeness—though some of the individual pieces we add each year may hardly be recognized as works of literature. *Clarilda; or, The Female Pickpocket. A Romance of New York City* (Boston, 1846) is particularly baffling in this respect. It is No. 262 in Lyle H. Wright's bibliography of early American fiction,<sup>12</sup> which lists seven other books from the rapid pen of its author, Benjamin Barker, published in the same year. It has a paper cover and the dismal tale told in its fifty loosely stitched pages is made more explicit by a cut showing "Clarilda in the act of shooting the mercenary Merchant." But this may have only confused its readers, for the perforation is performed in the text by a person named Jane Ayres (or Ayers, as the name is frequently spelled), who on the score of homophony alone resembles a character taking shape in Charlotte Brontë's imagination at the time this book came from the press. Its plot ranges over abduction, theft, murder, switching of new-born babies, and mistaken identity; after much has been resolved by coincidence the story ends "as the shades of night begin to close around us."

A strange story that gives every indication of being true is presented in Dr. Andrew G. Welch's *A Narrative of the Life of Benjamin Benson . . .* (London, 1847), one of a number of anti-slavery tracts we have received in the last two years. Its subject, born into slavery in Bermuda in 1818, was transported to Louisiana in his early teens where he was put to work on a rice plantation, his daily labor lasting "from the rising to the setting of the sun." At

length he was sold to the owner of a turpentine factory in North Carolina, then to a planter who took him back to Bermuda. There he became free in 1834, when the British emancipation of slaves in the West Indies took effect. But after taking employment as a seaman he had the further misfortune of incurring the enmity of the captain of his ship, who had him put ashore in irons at New Orleans; after being imprisoned for nine weeks he was once more sold into slavery to pay his jail expenses. Ultimately, with the help of a friendly Englishman, he escaped and made his way back to Bermuda. The narrative is told with a fair amount of restraint; evidently the author thought that Benson's life was itself a convincing argument for emancipation.

The bitter controversy over the Wilmot Proviso, which sought to bar slavery in any territory acquired from Mexico, is exemplified in a pamphlet containing *The Inaugural Address of Governor Chapman, Delivered December 16, 1847* (Montgomery, 1847). Reuben Chapman, who had retired from the House of Representatives, after serving five consecutive terms, to wage a victorious campaign for the governorship of Alabama, did not display great eloquence in this speech but he left no room for doubt as to how he and his fellow Southerners felt on the matter.

After questioning whether Congress had had the constitutional authority, 27 years before, to enact the Missouri Compromise, Governor Chapman declared his willingness to recognize it as a rule of conduct suggested by natural causes and "well calculated to promote the general peace and harmony of the Union." Any violation of it, he believed, would meet with as much general condemnation by the South as from the North. The Wilmot Proviso was such a violation, for it denied Southerners the right of choice on whether they might hold property (*i. e.*, slaves) in new territories.

<sup>12</sup> *American Fiction 1774-1850*, rev. ed., San Marino, Calif., 1948, p. 30.



"The Southern States do not, as has been charged, ask the acquisition of territory for the purpose of extending slavery; but they have a right to expect, and will insist, that when territory is acquired, their citizens have equal rights there, to go there and carry their property with them. . . ." To bring up such an issue while the Nation was engaged on the Mexican front, he declared, only stirred up sectional jealousies and weakened the war effort.

Governor Chapman, of course, had Texas very much in mind when he spoke of a larger United States. In *Letters Relating to the History of Annexation* (Galveston, 1848; Sabin 36454) one finds a careful exposition of the negotiations that brought about the entry into the Union of that huge Republic, written by the last of its Presidents, Anson Jones. The two letters it contains were addressed on November 13 and 23, 1847, to the editor of the Galveston *Civilian and Gazette* in answer to criticisms leveled at Jones and his former cabinet by ex-President John Tyler. They were published widely, but this particular imprint is quite rare; the National Union Catalog lists only a copy at Harvard and we have learned of one more in private hands.

Jones' account is illuminating for historical detail, though the passages describing his personal successes have to be checked against other sources. His efforts, he said, had been devoted to creating the opportunity for Texans to choose freely

between independence and annexation. Under his guidance,

Texas cultivated the friendship of the most influential nations—she took care to impress them with correct sentiments in regard to her vast undeveloped resources and her ultimate importance in an agricultural and commercial point of view—she enlisted their interests in her behalf. The interests of these great powers happened to be adverse and different. She took a proper advantage of that circumstance. She took especial care to sooth and never to wound the pride and vanity of Mexico. She pursued the Annexation and Independence at the same time, openly and fairly. Europe wished the one to result because she thought it would be favorable to her commercial, maritime [*sic*] and manufacturing interests. America wished the other because she deemed it more consonant to her peculiar interests . . . Texas was satisfied to obtain the offer of Independence or Annexation, or both together and have the privilege of choosing which she would take and which she would reject.

Most reports of this kind must end with a wistful glance at what one has had to omit. As was explained in the opening remarks, our purpose has been to give a highly selective cross-section of the type of material the Library has been acquiring in its effort to "possess all books and other materials . . . which express and record the life and achievements of the people of the United States." This admittedly is a lofty goal, but the reader can infer that it has been diligently pursued.

VINCENT L. EATON  
Assistant Chief,  
Rare Books Division

# Manuscripts

THE annual report on acquisitions of manuscripts was omitted last year to provide space for adequate discussion of the additions to the Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection. This report will therefore concern material acquired by the Library since February 1, 1947. It will emphasize groups of manuscripts that appear to be of great potential importance to scholars and will not describe many acquisitions, among them small additions to gifts that have been described in previous years and most acquisitions of single manuscripts, regardless of their value.

It is perhaps an indication of the complexity of our civilization that the public figure of today accumulates far more papers and leaves behind him vastly more documentation than did his predecessor of a century or even of a generation ago. In the last two years the Library has received a greater number than ever before of very large collections of papers of recent origin, foremost among them the papers of the late Josephus Daniels, which are estimated to comprise more than half a million pieces. The problems involved in handling such extensive groups and in putting them into usable arrangement are beyond the scope of this report, but it may be proper to note that, as a result of new techniques being developed, the Daniels papers were processed sufficiently to allow some use by scholars within four months after their arrival in the Library.

The manuscripts noted in this report, including reproductions, range in date from the early sixteenth century to the day before yesterday, reflect activities in regions as far apart as South Africa and the Philippines,

and record a wide variety of human thoughts and deeds. More than half of the groups of papers consist primarily of nineteenth-century material, but most of the individual documents were written in the twentieth century. Probably over 90 percent of the acquisitions are significant primarily as original source material for the history of the United States, with the emphasis on matters of national rather than regional or local importance. Material bearing on political, diplomatic, and military aspects of that history bulks large, but the proportion relating to social, economic, and cultural aspects is increasing.\*

The descriptions in this report have been grouped under six headings: personal and family papers, journals, archives, literary manuscripts, special items, and reproductions. These categories are not mutually exclusive, of course, and the allocations to them are sometimes arbitrary. The descriptions are necessarily brief and general, but fuller descriptions of specific groups can sometimes be supplied, and detailed finding aids are available for some of the groups.

## Personal and Family Papers

For many years, including the last two, the bulk of the manuscript material acquired by the Library has been classifiable as personal or family papers. That is, it consists of bodies of documents created or received by individuals and preserved by them or their families to serve as a record

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\*Manuscript maps and music, legal manuscripts, and those in Oriental characters are described elsewhere in the *Quarterly Journal*.



of thoughts, activities, and transactions that interest or concern them. Such groups of papers are analogous to the archives or official records of governments, organizations, and institutions—indeed they are sometimes called personal or family archives—and in both cases the maintenance of their integrity as groups is essential if they are to tell their full story. In that respect they differ markedly from “collections” of manuscripts assembled by a collector, whether an individual or an institution, for such collections, usually consisting of documents originally preserved as items in many different groups, ordinarily have significance as groups only for the light they throw on the interests and activities of their collectors.

Personal and family papers may differ almost as widely in subject matter, of course, as do the interests and activities of those who originally preserved them. Often the same group of papers throws light on many different aspects of history. Such groups also often contain originals or copies of documents that pertain to official governmental or institutional transactions with which the individuals who preserved the papers were concerned. No classification of such groups by subject seems to be practicable, therefore, and the descriptions below are arranged roughly in chronological order of the dates of the material described.

A large group (some 5,000 pieces) of Galloway family papers dating from about 1740 to 1850 has been presented by Mrs. Paul W. Bartlett of Washington. It consists of business letters and accounts of Samuel Galloway, a tobacco merchant of Colonial Maryland, who lived at “Tulip Hill” near Annapolis; business correspondence of his son, John Galloway, who established himself as a tobacco merchant on the Eastern Shore of Maryland about 1775; personal, business, and political correspondence of Virgil Maxcy, who married a

granddaughter of Samuel Galloway; and a few letters addressed to Francis Markoe, son-in-law of Maxcy, who was connected with the Department of State and was interested in the Columbian Institute. Among the letters addressed to Samuel Galloway is a hitherto unknown letter written by George Washington on May 14, 1772, which relates to a purchase of wine. The papers of Virgil Maxcy, Solicitor of the Treasury under President Jackson, friend and biographer of John C. Calhoun, and Chargé d’Affaires at Brussels under President Van Buren, form the most extensive part of the group; they contain correspondence with many men of prominence in Maryland history, including Charles Carroll of Carrollton, John Eager Howard, Alexander Contee Hanson, Robert Goodloe Harper, William Pinkney, and Benjamin Chew.

A group, recently acquired, of about 600 papers of Dr. Samuel Holten of Massachusetts derives its principal significance from the fact that Holten was a member of the Continental Congress. Most of the papers, which date from 1744 to 1816, consist of retained copies of letters Holten wrote as a member of the Continental Congress and later as Representative in the new Federal Congress and as a judge of probate in Essex County. There are also a few legal papers and about 100 letters addressed to Holten by Winthrop Sargent, Amos Putnam, Thomas Wallcutt, and others.

Another recent acquisition that concerns both the Colonial and later periods of American history consists of papers (about 500 pieces) of Elizabeth Smith Shaw of Massachusetts and members of her family, written between 1768 and 1857. An important segment of these papers—consisting of 112 letters addressed to members of the Shaw family by Abigail Adams, Mrs. Shaw’s sister—is described in the August 1947 issue of the *Quarterly Journal*. In

addition, the group includes some of Mrs. Shaw's own letters; correspondence of her son William, who served as John Adams' secretary during his Presidency; papers of her daughter Abigail; and papers of the daughter's husband Joseph Barlow Felt, of Boston, who served as librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society and as president of the New England Historic Genealogical Society and who wrote several books on New England history. Felt's papers include transcripts of early Massachusetts records and historical and genealogical compilations.

The Council and Assembly of New Jersey, in giving general instructions to their delegates to the Continental Congress on December 4, 1777, wrote "we rest assured your best Endeavours will, at all Times, be exerted to confirm and promote the Freedom, Independence and Happiness of the whole Union." Elias Boudinot, who had just been appointed a delegate, saved his copy of these instructions and they are now with a group of some 200 Boudinot papers that the Library has acquired. The papers, dated from 1773 to 1785, consist mainly of official letters addressed or referred to Boudinot as commissary-general of prisoners and, later, as President of the Congress and its Acting Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The pressing need for supplies is shown in the official reports from Boudinot's deputies and in petitions from British prisoners and the families of American prisoners. Among the many papers relating to exchange of prisoners are letters effecting the exchange of Colonel Ethan Allen for Colonel Archibald Campbell.

More than 500 papers of William Lee, who died in 1840, and members of his family have been presented to the Library by Miss Mary Lee Mann, a descendant. The group consists for the most part of original letters written from 1786 to 1840 by and to Lee, his wife, and his children; but it includes also a one-volume diary

kept by Lee from 1796 to 1801 and his memorandum book with entries dating from 1794 to 1816. The papers reflect Lee's long career as a Boston merchant and his service as consul-general and commercial agent at Bordeaux (1802-16), but the letters from 1809 to 1812, when he was called to assist in forming a commercial treaty between France and the United States, are particularly interesting. He accompanied the American Minister, John Armstrong, to Washington and there stayed with his old friend Joel Barlow. The letters written at the Barlow home, Kalorama, contain frequent references to President and Mrs. Madison and to social happenings in the Federal city. In 1811 Lee returned to Paris with Barlow, the newly-appointed Minister to France. Not long before Barlow set out to meet Napoleon at Wilno, a trip on which he contracted a fatal illness, Lee wrote: "I begin to think for the first time that our treaty will go down, they are certainly to work at it. It will do wonders for Barlow perhaps make him President."

A group of almost 3,000 papers, dating from 1805 to 1833, of John R. Latimer, which has been presented by Mrs. Walter S. Franklin, is of significance primarily as a record of American trade with China and India in pre-treaty days. Latimer, who was a native of Delaware, first went to Canton about 1815, and he engaged in trade with China and India for almost twenty years. The group includes some private letters he sent to members of his family and a large number of business letters he exchanged with Philadelphia and New York firms and with mercantile houses in India, also numerous receipts, invoices, bills of lading, ledgers, and account books.

Some papers of Major William Potter, consisting of two of his letterbooks (about 175 pages), have been presented by Mr. Francis Delavan Potter. Major Potter was Commandant of the Western Division of



New Jersey Militia in the War of 1812, and the correspondence, which dates from May 1813 to March 1814, is concerned with his activities in that capacity. Among other things, it tells the story of Major Potter's efforts, with a battalion of about three hundred men, to protect the bay shore of New Jersey from the raids then being made by vessels of the British squadron occupying Delaware Bay. The donor has included, as part of the gift, a typescript volume (108 pages) consisting of an informal narrative based upon the letterbooks by Rear Admiral David Potter, which is entitled "The Adventures of Major William Potter . . . An Interpretation."

The long and important career of Frederick Law Olmsted, one of America's earliest and most distinguished landscape architects and city planners, is documented in his personal and professional papers presented to the Library by his son, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. The group, comprising between 20,000 and 30,000 pieces and extending from 1819 to 1923, is described in some detail and its arrangement is indicated in the November 1948 issue of the *Quarterly Journal*. Accompanying these papers are a few papers of Captain Gideon Olmsted (1749-1845) a great-great-uncle of Frederick Law Olmsted, the most important of which is the Captain's "Journal," apparently written some years after the events described, of an adventurous voyage in the Connecticut sloop *Sea Flower* in 1777-78, which led to legal proceedings in the Pennsylvania Prize Court and an appeal to the Continental Congress. Use of the Olmsted papers is subject to special restrictions at present.

A small group of papers (about 50) of John Elgar, master machinist and designer of the *Codorus*, said to be the first iron steamboat in America, has been presented by Mrs. Edith Brooke Green. The papers consist mainly of original letters written by Elgar to members of his family and to

James P. Stabler, a fellow-inventor. The earliest piece, a letter addressed to a niece on November 17, 1826, gives an account of navigation up the Susquehanna River. A good many descriptive letters and travel notes made by Elgar on trips abroad in 1836 and 1837 are also included, as are letters up to and including the year 1858 that relate to Elgar's business affairs and inventions.

The Library has acquired part of the papers of Major Jedediah Hotchkiss, who served in the Confederate Army as a topographical engineer under General "Stonewall" Jackson and was later a mining engineer of national reputation. The acquisition consists of some 600 maps and over 15,000 other papers. The maps, over half of which are manuscript, are described in some detail and Hotchkiss' career is outlined in an article in the November 1948 issue of the *Quarterly Journal*. The other papers include personal and business correspondence dating from about 1850 to 1899, 23 diary volumes written between 1847 and 1899, and a number of articles by Hotchkiss on various phases of the Civil War and the history of Virginia and West Virginia. Other papers of Hotchkiss in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia have been microfilmed recently for the Library of Congress. Both groups will be described in a future issue of this *Journal*.

A group of more than 10,000 papers of Samuel Franklin Emmons, geologist and mining engineer, has been presented by Mrs. Paul W. Bartlett. The papers date from about 1860 to 1911 and reflect Emmons' part in the official United States Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel (the King Survey, 1867-77) and his later services with the United States Geological Survey. Extensive correspondence with European and American scientists is included. Six of Emmons' note-

books are among the official records of the King Survey in the National Archives.

A small but valuable group of papers of the eminent nineteenth-century journalist, diplomat, and archaeologist, Ephraim George Squier (1821–88), recently acquired, supplements an already large group of Squier's papers, the greater part of which was presented by his family in 1905. In addition to correspondence and manuscript notes on his archaeological studies, the new acquisition includes several volumes of clippings from English, French, Central American, and United States publications relating to Squier's published writings and his other varied activities, together with occasional notes. These constitute a valuable source of information on Latin-American affairs and on American archaeological studies.

A group of more than 3,000 papers of Mabel T. Boardman, Secretary of the American Red Cross Society for 40 years, has been presented by her sisters, Mrs. F. A. Keep and Mrs. W. Murray Crane. The papers, which date from 1853 to 1945, consist mainly of correspondence relating to personal affairs and to the Red Cross and community service in general. They include a long series of letters written by Miss Boardman from Berlin to members of her family in 1889–91, letters and related papers on the genealogy of the Boardman family, and many letters to and from men and women prominent in national affairs of the present century, among them every President from Theodore Roosevelt to Franklin D. Roosevelt. Use of these papers is subject to special restrictions.

A group of papers (about 3,000 pieces) of John G. Nicolay, who served as one of President Lincoln's secretaries, has been presented by his daughter, Miss Helen Nicolay. The papers date from 1860 to 1905 and include letters by, to, and relating to Lincoln, Nicolay's contemporary memoranda on Lincoln's conferences with his

generals and Cabinet officers, records of interviews, transcripts of important Civil War diaries, and other material gathered or segregated for use in connection with the Nicolay and Hay biography of Lincoln. Also included in the group are papers relating to Nicolay's other literary work and personal and family correspondence, in which are letters written by Nicolay while serving with Lincoln (1860–65) and as United States consul in Paris (1865–69). The use of these papers is subject to special restrictions.

An important segment (about 6,000 pieces) of the papers of John Hay, poet, journalist, historian, Ambassador to Great Britain (1897–98), and Secretary of State (1898–1905), has been presented by his daughter, Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, and his son, Mr. Clarence L. Hay. The papers date from 1860 to 1905, but they consist mainly of Hay's correspondence from 1897 until his death in 1905. A scrapbook of items dated from 1860 to 1887, several notebooks, and two diary volumes labeled "Memoirs in Morocco, 1904–1905" are included in the group. Among the persons represented in the correspondence are: Presidents McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, Sir Julian Pauncefote, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, Elihu Root, Clarence King, Henry Cabot Lodge, George B. Cortelyou, Brooks Adams, Henry James, Mark Twain, and Charles W. Eliot.

Some 400 Latrobe family papers, dated from about 1800 to 1932, have been presented by Captain William Latrobe. Most of the group is composed of letters received by Colonel Osmun Latrobe, Jr., of Maryland during his Spanish-American War service and later, but there are a number of letters received by John H. B. Latrobe in the middle of the nineteenth century, and there is an undated memorandum book containing a few entries in the writing of the well-known architect, Benjamin H. Latrobe.



A group of papers of Major General Henry W. Lawton (about 400 pieces) has been presented by Mrs. Louise L. Bagby. The papers include correspondence, commissions, and other military documents dating from 1861 to 1902, but most of them relate to Lawton's remarkable campaign against the Chiricahua band of Apache Indians, in the course of which he pursued them through Arizona and New Mexico and, at the end of the summer of 1886, received the surrenders of their two famous chiefs, Geronimo and Natchez.

A considerable group (over 2,000 items) of personal and family papers of Alexander Robey Shepherd (1835-1902) has been received as a gift from his daughter, Mrs. Francis T. Merchant. The papers date from about 1847 to 1943 but the bulk of them are of the period of 1864-88. They reflect Shepherd's strenuous activities as a member of the Board of Public Works and then as Governor of the District of Columbia in the early seventies and later as a promoter of silver mining in Mexico. They consist largely of correspondence and scrapbooks, and the correspondence includes one or more letters written by Lewis Cass, Edwin M. Stanton, Hamilton Fish, Simon Cameron, Justin S. Morrill, James A. Garfield, John Sherman, Roscoe Conkling, Levi P. Morton, Philip H. Sheridan, George Dewey, Leonard Wood, and others prominent in national affairs.

The personal papers of Ray Stannard Baker (some 15,000 pieces) have come to the Library as a bequest from him. An earlier gift consisted of correspondence and other papers assembled during the years of Baker's work on his biography of Woodrow Wilson; the present group includes his personal and professional correspondence from 1875 to 1946, a remarkable series of seventy-two notebooks begun in 1892 and carried to within a short time of his death, and a large body of drafts, memoranda, and notes relating to his newspaper and maga-

zine work and to his books. It does not include Baker's papers concerned specifically with his "David Grayson" books, as they were bequeathed to the Jones Library of Amherst, Massachusetts. The Baker papers in the Library of Congress are described more fully in an article in the *Quarterly Journal* for August 1948. Their use is subject to special restrictions.

Some 300 letters written to her husband and herself by political and social leaders have been presented by Mrs. Charles S. Hamlin of Massachusetts. They date from about 1884 to 1947; among them are letters written by Grover Cleveland, by Cabinet members, and by others prominent during the Cleveland and Wilson administrations. Some of the letters contain political discussion and comments on Democratic leaders and policies. They supplement Hamlin's diaries and scrapbooks already in the Library. The use of these papers is subject to special restrictions.

A large group of personal and family papers of Moreton Frewen, British economist and author (some 30,000 pieces), has been acquired. The papers date from about 1885 to 1923 and include many letters from outstanding Englishmen and Americans. Frewen was a bimetallist of some repute and a writer on various phases of economics and international finance; his papers reveal not only his continuing interest in these subjects but also his lifelong concern with social and political matters on both sides of the Atlantic. Substantial series of letters are included from such British figures as Earl Grey, Governor General of Canada, in regard to land speculation in Canada, English politics, and Canadian-American relations (*ca.* 1884-1922); Lord Balfour (*ca.* 1887-1921); Lord Lansdowne (*ca.* 1888-1922); and the Right Honorable Andrew Bonar Law (*ca.* 1910-20). Frewen's American correspondents included financiers, literary men, and well-known figures in political life. Of special interest

are the more than 50 letters from Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (*ca.* 1894–1922), which are concerned with many phases of English and American politics. It is expected that a fuller description of these papers will be published in a later issue of the *Quarterly Journal*.

A part of the papers of John Bassett Moore has been received as a gift from Mrs. Moore. Although about 100 letters written to Judge Moore from 1889 to 1901 on matters of personal or professional concern are included, the bulk of the material (some 2,000 pieces) consists of copies, with a few originals, of letters, diaries, and documents by or relating to William L. Marcy, concerning whom Judge Moore published an article in 1915.

The main body (over 80,000 items) of the personal papers of Albert J. Beveridge, United States Senator from 1899 to 1911 and author of biographies of John Marshall and Abraham Lincoln, has recently been presented by Mrs. Beveridge. Senator Beveridge's office files and the papers he accumulated in connection with his biographical studies have been in the Library for some years. The newly received papers cover the years 1890 to 1927 and many of them reflect the Senator's activities as an "insurgent" in Congress and as a leader in the Progressive Party that nominated Theodore Roosevelt for the Presidency in 1912. It is expected that a more detailed description of the papers will be published in a future issue of the *Quarterly Journal*. Use of them is subject to special restrictions.

Some 10,000 papers of the late Sophonisba P. Breckinridge have recently been acquired through the cooperation of Dr. Edith Abbott of the University of Chicago. The papers consist mainly of professional and personal correspondence from about 1902, when Dr. Breckinridge began her distinguished career as a teacher of public welfare administration at the University of

Chicago, to the time of her death in 1948. The professional papers relate mainly to her active interest in civic and philanthropic work and include correspondence with Jane Addams, Katharine Lenroot, Mary Anderson, and other leaders in the same field.

The papers of Charles Albert Browne, sometime Supervisor of Chemical Research in the United States Department of Agriculture (some 16,000 pieces), have been presented by Mrs. Browne. They date from 1895 to 1945, and include professional and personal correspondence and many of Dr. Browne's reports, articles, and addresses.

The papers of Judge Ben Lindsey, whose concern with the problems of juvenile delinquency made him nationally known in the first four decades of the present century, have been presented to the Library by Mrs. Lindsey. The group is large—about 125,000 pieces. While the papers include family letters dated as early as 1890, most of them date from 1902 to 1943, and are concerned with Judge Lindsey's contributions to the development of the juvenile court system and his services as a Juvenile Court judge in Denver and later as a Superior Court judge in California. They include also some material on his political and literary activities. It is expected that a fuller description of these papers will be published in a later issue of the *Quarterly Journal*. Use of them is subject to special restrictions.

Some 75 items from the papers of Mr. Maurice F. Lyons, secretary to Woodrow Wilson's first national campaign manager in the 1912 Presidential campaign, William F. McCombs, have been presented by Mr. Lyons. They date from 1911 to 1944 but most of them are of the period from 1912 to the middle of 1913. They include letters from Woodrow Wilson and McCombs and later correspondence with William J. Bryan, Carter Glass, Edward M. House,



William G. McAdoo, and others regarding the parts they and others had played in the 1912 campaign. Use of a few of the letters is subject to special restrictions.

The papers of Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy in Woodrow Wilson's Cabinet and Ambassador to Mexico under Franklin D. Roosevelt, have been received as a gift from his four sons. They date from 1877 to 1948 and comprise about 500,000 pieces. Their value is commensurate with the importance of the career of the man who accumulated them. The long series of letters from Woodrow Wilson and from Franklin D. Roosevelt are of special interest, of course, but there are also many letters from others of high prominence in government and politics and in the newspaper world. While early files are reported to have been destroyed by fire, some material before 1913 has been preserved, much of it family correspondence. The rich documentation begins with Daniels' service as Secretary of the Navy, 1913-21, and practically all phases of that long Cabinet term appear to be reflected. The papers also throw light upon affairs of concern to both the United States and Mexico during the administrations of Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt. The files of 1921-33 and 1942-48, years of Daniels' active editorship of his Raleigh newspaper, *The News and Observer*, are not lacking in material of national concern. Daniels never lost interest in national politics, and his newspaper career, salty enough in itself, gained in significance because of a continuing interest in and association with Franklin D. Roosevelt. The letters of 1932 and 1933 bear heavily upon the Presidential campaign. It is expected that a fuller description of the Daniels papers will be published in a future issue of the *Quarterly Journal*.

A large group (about 60,000 pieces) of papers of the late Raymond Clapper, well-

known newspaper columnist, has been presented by Mrs. Clapper. They are composed mainly of reference files from which Clapper could quickly draw needed information. These files, together with some personal and business correspondence, a few diaries, and numerous scrapbooks reflect his work from 1913, when he enrolled in the University of Kansas School of Journalism, until his death in 1944.

About 1,000 pieces of personal correspondence and other papers of George H. Dern for his years as Secretary of War in the first Cabinet of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933 to 1936, have been received as a gift from Mrs. Dern. The papers relate mainly to inspection and other trips made by Secretary Dern and to his addresses.

General Carl Spaatz, who recently retired as Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force, has presented his personal papers dating from 1922 to 1948 and his official papers pertaining to World War II. Use of these papers, which more than fill 14 standard file cases, is subject to special restrictions. They are being arranged by the Aeronautics Division of the Library in consultation with General Spaatz and with the Division of Manuscripts, in which it is expected that they will ultimately be deposited. A comprehensive description of them appears elsewhere in this issue.

## Journals

Under this heading are described, approximately in chronological order, diaries, journals, and notebooks acquired separately from other papers of their compilers. Many such items are included in the personal and family papers described in the previous section of this report, and some of those described below will probably be incorporated in the papers of their compilers if the Library has or acquires such papers.

One of the few surviving orderly books of the French and Indian War has been acquired by the Library. It was kept for the most part by Lieutenant Daniel Disney of the Forty-fourth Regiment, Coldstream Guards, and it includes orders issued during the Regiment's service in Ireland (April 1748–July 1754), during Braddock's campaign (March–July 1755), and during service around Albany, New York city, and Halifax, Nova Scotia (May 1756–November 1757). It contains also a journal of the siege of Fort William Henry in March 1757 and an account of the skirmish of French and Indians under M. de Rigaud de Vaudreuil at the Fort in August of the same year.

A one-volume diary kept by Ensign Philip Wager of the Twelfth Regiment of United States Infantry from March 1812 to March 1814 has been presented by Mr. John Philip Wager. The diary is mainly concerned with action around Fort Niagara and in Lower Canada from April 1813 to February 1814, but the march of a company from Winchester, Virginia, through central Pennsylvania to New York State in 1812, and the return march to Virginia in 1814 are described in brief entries.

A volume containing a journal kept by William H. Crawford of Georgia during the early months of his service as Minister to France (June–November 1813) and drafts or copies of 13 of his letters written between 1813 and 1831 has been presented by one of his descendants, Mrs. Paul Lewinson. The journal and some of the letters, edited by Daniel C. Knowlton, have been published in *Smith College Studies in History* (vol. XI, no. 2, Oct. 1925).

A journal kept by Dr. John Fitzhugh, a surgeon's mate on the U. S. Frigate *Congress*, John D. Henley Commander, on a voyage from Annapolis to Canton in 1819 and 1820 has been acquired. It is particularly interesting for its full description of Rio de Janeiro in July and for notes on

native dress, foodstuffs, birds, and animals of Manila and of several islands in the China Sea.

A one-volume diary kept by John Silva Meehan, fourth Librarian of Congress, from December 1, 1845 to October 31, 1846, has been acquired. In it proceedings in Congress are discussed in some detail and there is some reference to the Library of Congress, but a considerable proportion of the diary is devoted to family and social matters and to extensive descriptions of the weather.

Nine small but closely written volumes containing diaries of James W. Latta of Philadelphia for the years 1857–59 and 1861–65 and about 20 other Latta papers dating to 1899 have been presented by Miss Susan W. Brodhead and Mr. A. L. Brodhead, Jr. Latta joined the One Hundred and Ninth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers as First Lieutenant in 1862 and was commissioned Assistant Adjutant General of Volunteers by President Lincoln in 1864. He took an active part in the Pennsylvania State Guard after the Civil War and rose to the rank of major general.

A cartographical diary, with marginal notes, kept by Sergeant Angelo Wiser, Company H, Fifteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry, from March to June 1865, is a recent acquisition of Civil War interest. It records a march of the regiment from Huntsville, Alabama, through parts of Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and back to Huntsville.

Through a bequest in the will of Clinton Hart Merriam, the Library has received his original journals, comprising about 125 volumes and covering a period of more than sixty years (1873–1938), and a set of his manuscript Indian vocabularies, about 200 in number, accompanied by large-scale colored manuscript maps showing the distribution of the Indian tribes and bands of California and Nevada. Dr. Merriam was an eminent naturalist, zoologist, and eth-



nologist, and his journals, kept with discrimination and meticulous attention to detail, form a continuous record of his work and of his relations with scholars in this country and abroad. He organized and served for 25 years as chief of the division in the United States Department of Agriculture ultimately known as the Biological Survey, and for an even longer period beginning in 1910 he engaged in ethnological and biological research in California and Nevada for the Smithsonian Institution. In addition he represented the United States on a joint American and British commission to study the problems of pelagic sealing on the Pribilof Islands and was for 20 years a member of the United States Board on Geographic Names. An index to his journals has been compiled.

A journal kept by Yeoman J. C. Stoddard of a cruise around the world on the U. S. S. *Kearsarge* has been presented by Mr. Lester G. Wells. The journal includes a roster of officers and men and records many details of the three-year voyage of his ship, which started at San Francisco in March 1874 and touched at ports in Hawaii, the Philippines, Japan, China, India, Egypt, Sicily, and the Azores.

Dr. Rufus Harvey Sargent, geologist, has presented three volumes of topographical records and a manuscript diary covering his explorations in Eastern China under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution of Washington from November 1903 to June 1904.

An extensive typescript account of a trip around the world in 1911 and 1912 by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt has been received from her estate through the kindness of Miss Alda Wilson, executrix. During much of the trip Dr. Aletta Jacobs of Holland was one of Mrs. Catt's traveling companions, and the two women, both leaders in the movement for women's rights, met with individuals and spoke re-

peatedly before suffrage groups in South Africa, Japan, the Philippines, and elsewhere. In Johannesburg, Mrs. Catt called on Mohandas K. Gandhi. She found him in a small building on a side street, and there is more than a hint of his later career in her brief report: "He is a practicing lawyer and I found his outer room filled with Indians. . . . He has been in prison because he would not sign a registration paper which is made compulsory to all Indians."

## Archives

Official records of governments, organizations, and business concerns are described under this heading. Of course many official documents that emanated from such agencies and occasionally small groups of official records may be found in some of the personal and family papers described in the first section of this report. Microfilm reproductions of archival material are described in the last section of the report.

The Library has acquired a volume of records from 1720 to 1758 of the company that established the Principio Iron Works at the head of Chesapeake Bay. It includes articles of agreement, among them those by which Augustine Washington became a partner in 1726, diagrams of machinery, maps, and surveys.

A volume of records of the Philippine Islands under Spanish rule has been acquired. It is an official register of the texts of commissions issued for various civil and military posts in the islands by the Governor and Captain General, Don José Basco y Vargas, at Manila, from May 5, 1782 to February 18, 1784.

A group of 21 documents apparently from the records of a private banking house in Antwerp, Belgium, of which Charles John Michael De Wolf was the head has been presented by M. Georges de Caters of Belgium, a descendant. The documents, which date from 1792 to 1804, relate to

the conversion into domestic funds of the debt contracted by the United States in Antwerp and to lands in Vermont owned by De Wolf.

Four volumes, numbered 1, 2, 3, and 5, of authenticated copies of minutes of the Board of Directors of the Recife and São Francisco Pernambuco Railway, of London, promoters of one of the first railways constructed in Brazil, have been acquired. The railway line extended from Recife to Palmares and ultimately became part of the present Great Western of Brazil Railway. Its first section of about twenty miles was opened to traffic on February 9, 1858. The minutes, dated from October 11, 1854, to November 11, 1856, and from August 4, 1857 to June 21, 1861, throw light not only on building operations but also on such subjects as financing, appointment of contractors and other officials, and the relations of the company with the imperial government of Brazil and the provincial government of Pernambuco.

Records of the National Association for Universal Military Training and of its predecessor, the Association for National Service, constitute the bulk of a group of some 17,000 documents presented by the widow of the late Colonel Henry Harrison Sheets, who was the moving spirit in both organizations. The records, which date from 1913 to 1920, include minutes, accounts, and what appears to be most of the organizational correspondence from 1913 to 1920. Perhaps a fourth of the material received consists of Colonel Sheets' family and other personal correspondence from about 1913 to 1933.

Records of the National Policy Committee (about 3,500 pieces) covering the years of its existence, 1935 to 1947, have been acquired through the kindness of Miss Helen Hill Miller. The Committee's relations with the Public Affairs Committee, the Economic Policy Committee, and the New York Council on Foreign Relations are re-

flected in the files, as are also its cooperative ventures with Princeton and Dartmouth in 1946 and local discussions of labor-management relations in 1946 and 1947.

The records of Food for Freedom, Inc. (about 5,000 pieces) have been acquired through the courtesy of Mr. Harold Weston, its Executive Director. The organization's active existence extended from 1943 to 1946, and it is said to have influenced both national and international policies in the fields of food and international relief. Records of a predecessor, the Reconstruction Service Committee of 1942-43, are included.

### Literary Manuscripts

Under this heading are described acquisitions consisting wholly or mainly of manuscripts of literary works or of other documents pertaining largely to literary activities. Here again, similar material will often be found in groups of personal or family papers, but these acquisitions appear to have a special interest that justifies separate description.

An interesting group of 11 letters written by Charles Reade, English novelist and playwright, has been acquired. The letters date from 1870 to 1883 and deal mainly with the struggle by British and American authors for an international copyright law and with Reade's efforts to obtain admission of American authors to the British Authors Protective Society.

A single item of unusual interest is a letter of July 6, 1883, from Sir Edwin Arnold to Andrew Carnegie, presenting the autograph manuscript from which Arnold's poem "The Light of Asia" was printed. In this letter, which was given to the Library by Mr. Carnegie's daughter, Mrs. Roswell Miller, Jr., Arnold wrote: "Of thousands in America whose generous words of praise & appreciation have so richly rewarded my labour on 'The Light of Asia' none has



shown a friendlier feeling for the poet than yourself. Accept therefore as a 'keepsake' the MS of the poem, written with my own hand, from wh. it was printed. Some day, perhaps, it will have the value with those to come, which it has, I know, to-day in your kind eyes."

A group of papers (several hundred) of the late Harold Frederic, American novelist and journalist, has been presented by Miss Dorothy S. Stokes of London. The papers fall mainly within the last eight years of Frederic's life (1890-98), while he was serving in London as correspondent of the *New York Times*. Though they relate largely to his published work, they include interesting studies for work never completed, a few letters, and three diary notebooks for the years 1891 to 1893.

A large collection of autograph manuscript poems by Edwin Arlington Robinson, which was assembled by the late Louis Ledoux, himself a poet and for many years a close friend of Robinson's, has been presented by Mrs. Gertrude Clarke Whittall. The collection comprises drafts of 20 separate poems written in pencil. Fifteen of them, including *Ben Johnson Entertains a Man from Stratford* and *Flammonde* are first drafts, and among the final drafts is one of the complete *Tristram*, which bears a few late revisions. A detailed description of the collection will appear in a future issue of this *Journal*.

The Library's collection of A. E. Housman manuscripts has been supplemented by the acquisition of more than 100 letters written by Housman to his publisher, Grant Richards, from 1910 to 1935. Most, but not all, of the letters have been published in Richards' *Housman: 1897-1936* (London, 1941).

### Special Items

Manuscripts of interest primarily as autographs or association items, other than

literary manuscripts, and not received with other documents, and also small groups of documents relating entirely to a special subject or assembled by a collector are described under this heading. Some of them will probably ultimately be incorporated in other groups that are already in the Library or may be acquired in the future.

By the will of the late Gabriel Wells, dealer in rare books and manuscripts, the Library was allowed to select a number of items from his stock. An unusually interesting group of the documents thus acquired, consisting of correspondence and scientific papers exchanged between Benjamin Franklin and Jan Ingenhousz from 1775 to 1785, has been fully described in an article in the August 1947 issue of the *Quarterly Journal*. Other material received from the Wells estate include 17 letters from Henry Dearborn to Joseph B. Varnum, 1798 to 1814, relating to political affairs and appointments in the United States Army; three Washington manuscripts, the most interesting of which is a set of resolutions drawn up by officers of the First Virginia Regiment at a meeting in November 1772; and six Abraham Lincoln manuscripts, of which five are legal documents and the sixth is an order for the release of prisoners of war upon condition that the oath of amnesty be taken. This order, which was written by Andrew Johnson on April 12, 1865, and endorsed by Lincoln on April 14, is said to be the last paper signed by Lincoln before his assassination in the evening of that day.

In 1763, a group of prominent Virginians, including George Washington, William Nelson, Thomas Walker, Fielding Lewis, and many others, formed the Dismal Swamp Company. They obtained permission from the Virginia Council to take over the vast tract of waste land known as the Dismal Swamp and they attempted, for more than twenty years, to drain it and make it arable. The Library has recently

acquired eight pages of original surveys, descriptions, and drawings of the tract, prepared by Gershom Nimmo and others in the early years of the project, and six documents, in the writing of George Washington, that relate to the Company. Among these documents, which date from 1763 to 1785, are Washington's copy of the original petition addressed to the Council in 1763, his accounts with the Company from 1763 to 1772, and a draft of a resolution of May 1, 1785, which looked toward importing laborers "acquainted with draining, and other branches of agriculture" to help with the undertaking.

The original of a famous document has been presented by Mrs. Douglas W. Howard. It is the *subpoena duces tecum* authorized by Chief Justice John Marshall on June 13, 1807, on motion of Aaron Burr, directing President Jefferson, Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith, and Secretary of War Henry Dearborn "or either of them" to appear with certain relevant papers at Burr's trial for treason. The President, while agreeing to furnish copies of some of the papers, declined to appear at the trial for reasons set forth in a letter of June 17 to the United States attorney for the Virginia district: "to comply with such calls would leave the Nation without an Executive branch, whose agency nevertheless is understood to be so constantly necessary, that it is the sole branch which the constitution requires to be always in function."

Some 20 volumes or gatherings of documents relating to the history and development of the Spencerian system of writing have been presented by Dr. Frank McLees. Dating from about 1848 to 1905, the documents include early specimens of the system introduced by Platt Rogers Spencer and continued and improved by his son, Lyman P. Spencer, and other members of the family. Copy for the engraver, proof bearing Lyman Spencer's corrections, and

samples of the completed copybooks are also included. The donor, like his father before him, was engraver for the Spencers.

The original of the well-known "Autobiography" that Abraham Lincoln sent to Jesse W. Fell on December 20, 1859, has been presented by the Rev. Robert Dale Richardson, a descendant of Fell. It is fully described in the May 1947 issue of the *Quarterly Journal*.

Some 40 manuscripts apparently accumulated by John Sherman, as member of a House committee sent to investigate the situation in Kansas in the spring of 1856, have been presented to the Library by Professor and Mrs. Roy F. Nichols. The documents record much of the testimony presented before the committee and include letters written by Governor Wilson Shannon, J. B. Donaldson, United States Marshal of the Territory, and the Congressional committee itself to residents of Lawrence in May 1856, and an "Indictment of Grand Jury for High Treason."

An autograph letter from Robert E. Lee to Messrs. McReady Mott & Company, recently acquired, appears, on the surface, to be only a routine business communication giving instructions for the reshipment to Alexandria, Virginia, of "5 boxes & 2 chests containing my books, papers, etc.," which had been shipped to the company's care in New York. It derives special significance, however, from the fact that it was written on April 19, 1861, the day after Lee declined the field command of the United States Army and the day before he submitted his resignation to General Scott.

An unofficial copy of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, presented by Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., bears the signatures of President Lincoln, the four authenticating officers, and every Senator and Representative who voted for its passage. The document is fully described in an article in the August 1948 issue of the *Quarterly Journal*.



A small group of manuscripts (16 pieces) relating to the trial of Henry Wirz has been presented by Mr. Ernest J. Wessen. Wirz was tried before a military commission for outrages alleged to have been committed by him as Commandant of Andersonville Prison. The documents, which are dated in 1864 and 1865, relate to the first measures adopted for his defense.

A four-page letter written by Woodrow Wilson to Moses B. Slaughter on August 2, 1888 has been presented by Mrs. Slaughter. The recipient was at that time a professor of Latin at the Collegiate Institute of Hackettstown, New Jersey, and the letter describes what the writer believed to be the most effective method of teaching Caesar's *Commentaries*.

## Reproductions

Reproductions of manuscripts might be classified, of course, on the basis of the character of the manuscripts reproduced, with original manuscripts of like character. If they are microfilms, however, and most of those described below are, they are usually kept physically separate from originals. It has seemed convenient, therefore, to describe them separately.

As a result of the resumption of the Library's program of microfilming archival material of American interest in Spain, reproductions have been received of over 20,000 pages of documents in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, relating to the so-called "Avila-Cortés conspiracy" in Mexico, 1566-68; and, from the same archives, Patronato, Legajos 265 and 266, relating to voyages and depredations of Sir Francis Drake and other English seamen in the Spanish Indies (1528-96). The material on the Avila-Cortés conspiracy supplements original documents on the same subject in the Library's Harkness Collection of early Spanish manuscripts concerning Mexico.

The Library's program of acquiring reproductions of material of American interest in the Public Record Office in London has also been resumed. The receipts include microfilms of 121 volumes of Foreign Office papers, series 5 (United States), consisting of correspondence of the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with the British Minister to the United States from 1872 to 1881; correspondence regarding the Canadian fisheries question (1867-73), the cession of Alaska Territory by Russia to the United States (1835-68), and the Alaska boundary (1872-76); and special dossiers on the Fenian Brotherhood (1867-72), the Hudson's Bay Company (1859-71), the Naturalization Treaty of 1870 (1868-71), the cases of the *Shenandoah* (1864-72) and of the *Maury* and the *America* (1855-72), and the Northwest Boundary (1870-74). From the State Department have been received photostats of a small group of items dealing with the slave trade in 1861 and 1862, which were selected from official correspondence in the Public Record Office between Lord Lyons, British Minister to the United States, and Lord John Russell, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

During the last few years the Library, working in cooperation with the editorial office of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson at Princeton University, has been able to assemble photocopies of much of the publicly and privately owned Jefferson material in this country and abroad. Acquisitions received during the last two years include microfilm copies of the Jefferson papers in the Henry E. Huntington Library, the William Andrew Clark Library of the University of California, the John Pierpont Morgan Library, and the New York Public Library; of correspondence exchanged between Jefferson and John Adams and other members of the Adams family, from originals in the Adams Manuscript Trust in Boston, which is described in the February

1948 issue of the *Quarterly Journal*; of a group of about 150 letters from Joseph C. Cabell to Jefferson dated from July 23, 1810 to February 20, 1826, from originals on deposit in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia; and of approximately 80 letters addressed to St. John de Crèvecoeur by Jefferson, George Washington, James Madison, William Short, the Marquis de Lafayette, and others, 1784 to 1798, from originals in the possession of a descendant in France; also a photostatic copy of the diary of Isaac Coles of Albemarle County, Virginia, covering the period of his service as secretary to President Jefferson, 1806 to 1809, from the original owned by Mrs. Coles Phinzy. Indexes and calendars of some of these acquisitions are available in the Division of Manuscripts. As a rule the reproductions may not be reproduced without permission of the owners of the originals.

As the result of a similar arrangement between the Library and the Roosevelt Memorial Association, microfilm copies of a number of Theodore Roosevelt manuscripts have been acquired. These include reproductions of letters written by Roosevelt between 1893 and 1918 to his "close friend" Dr. Albert Shaw of the *Review of Reviews* along with some of Shaw's replies and some other manuscripts relating to Roosevelt; correspondence of Roosevelt

from the files of Charles Scribner's Sons, publishers, from 1898 to 1918, and with Lemuel E. Quigg, Member of Congress and New York publisher, from 1894 to 1918; and letters written by Roosevelt to the novelist, John Fox, Jr., from 1894 to 1918, and to Brander Matthews, from 1888 to 1921. These copies may be reproduced only with the permission of the owners of the originals.

Microfilm reproductions of many manuscripts in British repositories made during the war as part of the American Council of Learned Societies Project have been received by the Library during the last two years. Some of them have been described in articles on "Microfilm" in the November 1947 and November 1948 issues of the *Quarterly Journal*, and it is expected that the remainder will be described in a similar article in a future issue. Other acquisitions of microfilms of manuscripts, including many deposited by the Modern Language Association, are also noted in the articles referred to. Of special interest to students of American history is the reproduction of the correspondence between Alexander H. Stephens and his brother Linton from 1834 to 1872 which supplements the large group of Alexander H. Stephens papers in the Library.

SOLON J. BUCK  
*Chief, Division of Manuscripts*



## Rare Books

RECENT reports have indicated to how great an extent the Library's current acquisitions of rare books have depended upon the generosity of Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald. The past eventful year has proved no exception, and a major part of the space allocated for this report on rare book acquisitions will necessarily be devoted to describing the many fine and often extraordinarily rare volumes which Mr. Rosenwald found both desirable and suitable for his Collection. Seventy-four new titles have been inventoried and recorded during the year (in addition to the rare maps reported elsewhere in this issue). From a statistical point of view, the Rosenwald Collection now comprises 352 incunabula, exclusive of six single leaves from monumental books, and 353 sixteenth-century titles. The tallies for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are 30 and 62 respectively, while 107 nineteenth-century publications, exclusive of the 58 titles relating to William Blake, are represented. For our own century 68 titles have been assembled. These figures serve in a limited way to suggest the strength and coverage of the Collection which, as is generally known, is devoted essentially to the history of book illustration. Exclusive of the several block books and early manuscripts there are now more than a thousand volumes in the Collection. It may be added that these are in the process of being cataloged and printed cards are already available for over seven hundred individual titles.

The new acquisitions include 19 incunabula. The earliest of these is the Cologne edition of Flavius Renatus Vegetius' *De re militari*, printed by Nicolaus

Götz about 1475. The only recorded copy in American ownership and the earliest edition of this text in the Library of Congress, the volume takes a place of honor among the early works on military science in the Rosenwald Collection. It has a special affinity both to William Caxton's 1489 edition of Christine de Pisan's *The Fayt of Armes and of Chyvalre*, in part an adaptation of Vegetius' text, about which we shall have more to say below, and to the complete English translation printed at London by Thomas Marshe about 1572, two copies of which are available for consultation. So far as we have been able to check, only three other copies of the Cologne edition have been located in foreign libraries, but rarity is neither an exceptional nor the most important feature of many of the Rosenwald volumes.

The earliest of the fifteenth-century titles to contain woodcuts is the Mainz edition of Johannes de Turrecremata's *Meditationes seu contemplationes devotissimae*, printed by Johann Neumeister on September 3, 1479 (*Second Census*, T487). The earliest illustrated edition of this text, and incidentally the first illustrated Italian book, was printed by Ulrich Han at Rome in 1467. These illustrations were later used, with some additional cuts, in three subsequent Rome editions, that of 1478 printed by Han, and those of 1484 and 1498 by Stephan Planck. The Library owns copies of the editions of 1478 and 1484, the latter having been acquired by Mr. Rosenwald at the Dyson Perrins sale during June of 1946. The woodcuts appearing in these Rome editions were imitated for the Mainz edition of Johann Neu-

meister [see illustration]. In the adaptation, however, the size was reduced, the basic designs were cut on metal in the *manière criblée* or "dotted manner," and borders were added. The resulting series of 34 illustrations produces an artistic effect markedly different from that of the rather crudely executed prototypes.

Three significant French titles have been added to the distinguished group of French incunabula. The earliest and certainly the rarest is an edition of *L'Abusé en court*, printed at Lyons about 1485 [see illustration]. The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (no. 133) does not record the present copy and locates only two other copies, one in the British Museum, the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This volume has interest from several points of view. Textually allegorical, Anatole Claudin has briefly summarized the contents on pages 368 to 375 of volume IV of his *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Typographically the book is the work of an unidentified Lyons printer who used a large Gothic type reminiscent of the large *bâtarde* letter used at Bruges by Colard Mansion in 1475. According to Claudin "la coupe de ces lettres a été . . . inspirée par la calligraphie des beaux manuscrits français de romans de chevalerie exécutés pour les ducs de Bourgogne." This volume has a close relationship to another book in the Rosenwald Collection which was acquired and exhibited at the Library during 1947. This is Pierre Michault's *Le Doctrinal du temps présent*, which was also printed at Lyons by the same anonymous printer about the time of *L'Abusé en court*. Both volumes are illustrated, the former with ten and the latter with eleven woodcuts. Artistically they are rather awkward since the cutting is angular and almost childlike, but in their naïveté they possess a charm of their own. The illustrations in both books are reproduced in *Livres à gravures imprimés à Lyon au XV<sup>e</sup>*

*siècle*, II and IIa, with notices by Eugénie Droz (Lyons, Association Guillaume Le Roy, 1926). Mr. Arthur Hind has pointed out the close relationship of these Lyons cuts to those found in a 1484 edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* issued by Colard Mansion at Bruges. The coincidence that both the type and the illustrations are reminiscent of Mansion's work at Bruges suggests that that well-known printer may have a close relationship to the anonymous printer at Lyons. Mansion is known also to have been a "clever calligrapher." We know that the expenses in connection with the Ovid probably ruined Mansion financially for this is the last book printed at Bruges with which his name is allied, and he is known to have fled the town a few months after the Ovid was published. Apparently nothing more is known of Mansion and he vanished into obscurity. Documentary proof will have to be forthcoming to identify him as the anonymous printer at Lyons, but the probabilities are such that investigations might prove fruitful.

Only three books were printed at Abbeville during the fifteenth century. The second of these is the sumptuous edition of Augustine's *De la cité de Dieu* which was printed by Pierre Gérard and Jean Dupré. The first volume is dated November 24, 1486, while the second was published on April 12, 1486/87 (*Second Census*, A1106). The initial woodcut depicts Charles V and Raoul de Presles, who prepared the French version. Thereafter each of the twenty books is headed by a large and appropriate engraving. According to A. M. Hind, the subjects are closely related to illuminations in certain manuscripts of the *Cité de Dieu*, being especially close to a manuscript at Turin, done in 1466 for the Grand Bastard Antoine of Burgundy. Since four of the wood blocks are reproduced and all are described on pages 85 to 87 of the John Pierpont Morgan *Catalogue*





**O** Eritio plane bone ihesu in cōtempla-  
 tione immēle caritatis tue quam hu-  
 mano generi in morte tua demonstrasti  
 Cum enim primi hominis transgressio in  
 tantum labe factasset humanam naturā  
 et letali vulnere confodisset ut nullum sa-  
 lutis sue esset remedium nulla quoq; spes  
 iusticie nulla forma sapiētie quibus a ca-  
 ptiuitate diaboli ⁊ eterne mortis profūdo  
 humanū genus erui posset nisi medicina  
 nobis eueniret de celo et quanq̃ diuine pi-  
 etati ad reparandum humanum genus





Or as tu ouye et bien veue toute ma vie et la veri-  
 te de mō fait et cōme Je fuz mene a l'ospital pour  
 leguer don de mō seruice et la recōpence de mō tēps p̄du.  
 Et vueillez toy et les aultres qui a lire vous esbatres mi  
 eulx penser et de meilleure heure a vostre fait q̄ Je nay fait  
 au mien et a ceste dangereuse actente ne vous asserues  
 de laquelle sont peu de saiges persōnes au dangier et po<sup>2</sup>  
 ce se garde qui se aimera.

Explicit.



of *Manuscripts and Early Printed Books* (London, 1907), few details need be mentioned here except to emphasize the artistry of the engraver who knew what he was expected to do and executed his assignment with excellence. The cuts are rather flamboyant, rich in detail, and highly entertaining.

The third and from many points of view the most significant acquisition among the early French books is *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles*, printed at Paris by Pierre Levet for Antoine Vêrard, and dated December 24, 1486 (*Second Census*, N248). "Un livre fort apprécié des bibliophiles," this first edition of *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles* is one of the monumental books in the history of French literature. Through the hundred stories modeled after Boccaccio the literature of the Italian Renaissance makes its entrance into France, for this collection marks the beginning in French literature of the *novella*.

The Rosenwald copy, one of two copies in American ownership, is perfect in every detail. The edition is listed as number 4 in John Macfarlane's bibliography, *Antoine Vêrard*, where only the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale is located. Forty-one of the forty-two woodcuts, which are closely adapted to the text, are reproduced by Pierre Champion in his detailed and informative *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles* (Paris, 1928). These cuts are the work of several artists, one of whom is particularly skillful. The one hundred stories called for that number of cuts, but apparently the making of so many would have proved too costly. Consequently many of the cuts are repeated.

Earlier in this report we mentioned the name of Colard Mansion. At that time no comment was made of his quondam relationship with William Caxton, the first English printer, who established his press at Westminster in 1475. The published works of this printer are well represented

in the Rosenwald Collection, as readers of this *Journal* are already well aware. To the 15 Caxtons already secured by Mr. Rosenwald he has added a distinguished copy of Christine de Pisan's *The Fayt of Armes and of Chyvalre*, which is dated July 14, 1489 (*Second Census*, C426). This is the Holford copy bound in brown morocco which Seymour de Ricci describes as copy number three under number 28 in his *A Census of Caxtons*. Including the two Caxtons which have been in our possession for many years, the Library of Congress now owns 18, which, according to the *Second Census*, elevates the Library to third position among American libraries possessing volumes printed by Caxton. The Pierpont Morgan Library will probably always remain in first place in this country with 45 distinct works and 20 duplicates. The Henry E. Huntington Library ranks second with 31 and 3 duplicate titles. The New York Public Library is fourth with 10 Caxtons, followed by Mr. Carl H. Pforzheimer with 9 titles and the Folger Shakespeare Library with 7. According to the *Second Census*, there are approximately 175 Caxtons, exclusive of fragments, in American ownership.

Six Italian incunabula are included among the year's acquisitions. The oldest of these is Coriolanus Cepio's *Petri Moecenici imperatoris gesta*, printed at Venice in 1477 by Bernhard Maler, Erhard Ratdolt, and Peter Löslein (*Second Census*, C338). It contains several woodcut initials and a graceful floreated border surrounding the first page of text, which is typical of many of the books carrying the imprints of these printers.

Not previously represented in an American collection is an edition of *Le deuote meditatione sopra la Passione del Nostro Signore*, usually but incorrectly ascribed to Saint Bonaventure. This volume was printed by Bernardinus Benalius and Matteo Capcasa in Venice sometime before

May 8, 1491. The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (no. 4773) records only three other complete copies of this edition which is illustrated with 15 woodcuts in the manner of Bellini but modified by the Mantegna influence; most of these had been used earlier in an undated edition of this same work printed by Benalius alone.

To the many early mathematical books in the Rosenwald Collection has been added a fine copy of Lucas de Burgo S. Sepulchri's *Somma di aritmetica, geometria, proporzioni e proporzionalita*, printed at Venice in 1494 by Paganinus de Paganinis (*Second Census*, L282). This is described by the late David Eugene Smith in his *Rara arithmetica* (Boston and London, 1908) as "the first general work on mathematics [to be] printed" and "the first printed book to illustrate the finger symbolism of numbers." The author of this treatise is perhaps more widely recognized under the name of Paccioli, whose best-known book *Divina proportione* was printed in 1509. A copy of this is also available in the Rosenwald Collection.

An interesting Savonarola title is Domenico Benivieni's *Trattato in defensione e probazione della dottrina di Savonarola*, printed at Florence in 1496 (*Second Census*, B286). Mr. Max Sander in his *Le Livre à figures italien depuis 1467 jusqu'à 1530* describes this edition under number 896 and mentions in some detail the several woodcuts. The one exceptional cut on the remaking of the world by Christ, reproduced on plate 549 of Sander's work, he describes as "de grande valeur artistique et une des compositions graphiques des plus grandioses de la Renaissance."

The 1497 edition in Italian of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which Joannes Rubeus printed for Lucantonio Giunta in 1497, has long been regarded as one of the most significant illustrated books produced in Venice during this period. The Rosenwald copy unhappily lacks five leaves, but

since it is the only copy in America and one of few copies known to be in existence, it is an addition of considerable merit to the Collection. The style of design in the numerous and excellent cuts is consistent throughout although the quality of the cuts varies. Several hands obviously were responsible for them as is evidenced by the two signatures, *ia* and *N*; those by the former are among the best. Benedetto Montagna has been suggested as possibly the designer of this series of engravings; Arthur M. Hind states rather emphatically that "if any of the Venetian illustrations are Benedetto Montagna's design, nothing is more likely to be his than the Ovid." Whoever the artist, the woodcuts constitute the transition, in company with other related books, to that masterpiece of the classic style in Venetian illustration, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, printed by Aldus in 1499, of which five copies are available in the Library's collections.

A curious scene of exorcism is featured in the woodcut on the verso of the title leaf of *Coniuratio malignorum spirituum* [Venice, about 1495] (*Second Census*, C750). Another small Italian book recently acquired, *Dell' immortalità dell' anima* of Giacompo Camphora, which Ulderico Scinzenzeler printed at Milan in 1497 (*Second Census*, C75), is illustrated with one woodcut.

We shall conclude this section on incunabula with the brief and inadequate listing of four German titles, three of which appear to be unique, and one additional French volume. The three unique titles are *Die Geschicht tzwischen dem römischen Künge ün den König von Fräkreyche in Rome gescheen*, printed at Leipzig about 1492; *Von de König zu dē pat, wy er geschendet wart* and *Des edlen Ritter Morgeners Walfahrt in Sāt Thomas Land*, both printed at Erfurt by Hans Sporer in 1497. All three of these interesting illustrated German works have been bound together



by Peter Franck in an attractive modern binding. He is also responsible for a similar binding on an edition of the *Stella clericorum*, printed at Paris by Antoine Caillaut about 1490, and not previously recorded in American ownership. Finally there is an interesting and profusely illustrated medical book, Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Kleines Destillierbuch*, printed at Strassburg by Johann Grüninger on May 8, 1500 (*Second Census*, B1089). Divided into three parts, the first deals with the methods of distillation; the second treats of plants and their properties; and the final section is devoted to diseases and appropriate medications. Since this volume was printed in 1500, it will serve as an appropriate conclusion to the section of this report devoted to volumes of the fifteenth century.

Some twenty-odd volumes have been added to the impressive assemblage of over 350 sixteenth-century volumes now in the Collection. Of especial significance among the new additions is a tall copy of Conradus Celtes' *Quattuor libri amorum* (Nuremberg, 1502), with several large uncolored woodcut illustrations, two of which have been attributed to Albrecht Dürer. Acquired at the same time were seven of the woodcuts, colored by a contemporary hand, that were used in the volume. Two other woodcuts used later in Petrus Tritonius' *Melopoia* (Augsburg, 1507), a copy of which is also available in the Collection, are included among these illustrations. Since all but one are printed on conjugate leaves, these undoubtedly are early proofs, and they are remarkably fresh.

The *Opuscula* of Jacobus Locher (Nuremberg, 1506), illustrated with six woodcuts attributed to Wolf Traut, who Mr. Campbell Dodgson believes may have been responsible for those illustrations in the 1502 Celtes not by Dürer; Petrarch's *Los seys triumphos* (Logrono, 1512), the Castilian translation of Antonio de Obregón; the *Opera* of Sallustius (Lyons, 1517); Johann

von Paltz' *Die himmlische Fundgrube* (Strassburg, 1517), of which the British Museum apparently has only a fragment; and Cardinal Vigerius' *Decachordum Christianum Julio II pont. max. dicatum* (Hagenau, 1517), containing both large and small woodcuts relating to the life of Christ; all these are uncommon books belonging to the earliest decades of the century and falling logically into place beside many related and complementary volumes.

To the group of early missals has been added a copy of *Missale Cesar-Augustanum* (Saragossa, George Coci, 1522), described by number 220 in the Weale-Bohatta bibliography, *Bibliographia liturgica* (London, 1928). Another acquisition of related interest is a beautiful copy, printed entirely on vellum, of the *Horae in laudem beatissimae Virginis Mariae ad usum Romanum*, printed at Paris for Geofroy Tory on October 21, 1527. The Rosenwald Collection includes the copy of a quite similar edition "suivant l'usage de Paris" dated October 22, 1527, formerly owned by Cortlandt F. Bishop and described by Brunet 325. The edition dated one day earlier is that described by Brunet 324. Full details about this exceedingly rare edition are found on pages 120-22 of the 1909 English translation of Auguste Bernard's *Geofroy Tory*.

The acquisition of Giovanni Battista Verini's *Luminario, o degli elementi della lettere* (Toscolano, 1526) is of moment for its high calligraphic interest. The third chapter of this volume devoted to the construction of Roman capitals has been the subject of a recent study by Stanley Morison, published in 1947. The remaining chapters relate to the art of penmanship. Two other writing books are also included in the recent additions. These are Giovanni Battista Palatino's *Libro . . . nel qual s'insegna à scrivere ogni sorte lettera* (Rome, 1548) and Giovanni Francesco's *Il perfetto scrittore* (Rome, 1570).

Two volumes containing woodcuts of Hans Sebald Beham are noteworthy additions to the Collection. The earlier of these is the *Biblisch Historien, figürlich fürgebildet* (Frankfurt-am-Main, Christian Egenolph, 1536), with 80 woodcuts of Old Testament subjects and with the four Evangelists and St. Paul at the end. This series is described by numbers 277–356 in Gustav Pauli's catalog of Beham's prints. Numbers 833–858 describe the cuts appearing in *Typi in apocalypsi Joannis . . .* (Frankfurt-am-Main, Christian Egenolph, 1539). This is the first edition of his Apocalypsis series; the Old Testament series had first been published in an edition of 1533, which is virtually unprocurable.

Seven sizable woodcuts by Michel Ostendorfer are used to embellish the text of *Warhafftige Beschreibung des andern Zugs in Oesterreich wider den Turcken* (Nuremberg, Jheronimum Formschneyder, 1539). Under the heading of "Woodcuts connected with Frederick II, Count (afterwards Elector) Palatine" these are described by Mr. Campbell Dodgson on pages 250–51 of the second volume of his *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts*.

We have been reluctant to use many superlatives in discussing the new additions, but we can not refrain from describing the first edition of Andreas Vesalius' *De humani corporis fabrica libri septem* (Basel, 1543) as one of the greatest and most significant books in the history of science to be published in Europe during the sixteenth century. Jean Baptiste S  nac called Vesalius' work on anatomy the discovery of a new world, and B  la Haller spoke of it "as an immortal work, by which all that had been written before were almost superseded." The Rosenwald copy of this distinguished volume comes from the Liechtenstein Collection and is in admirable condition.

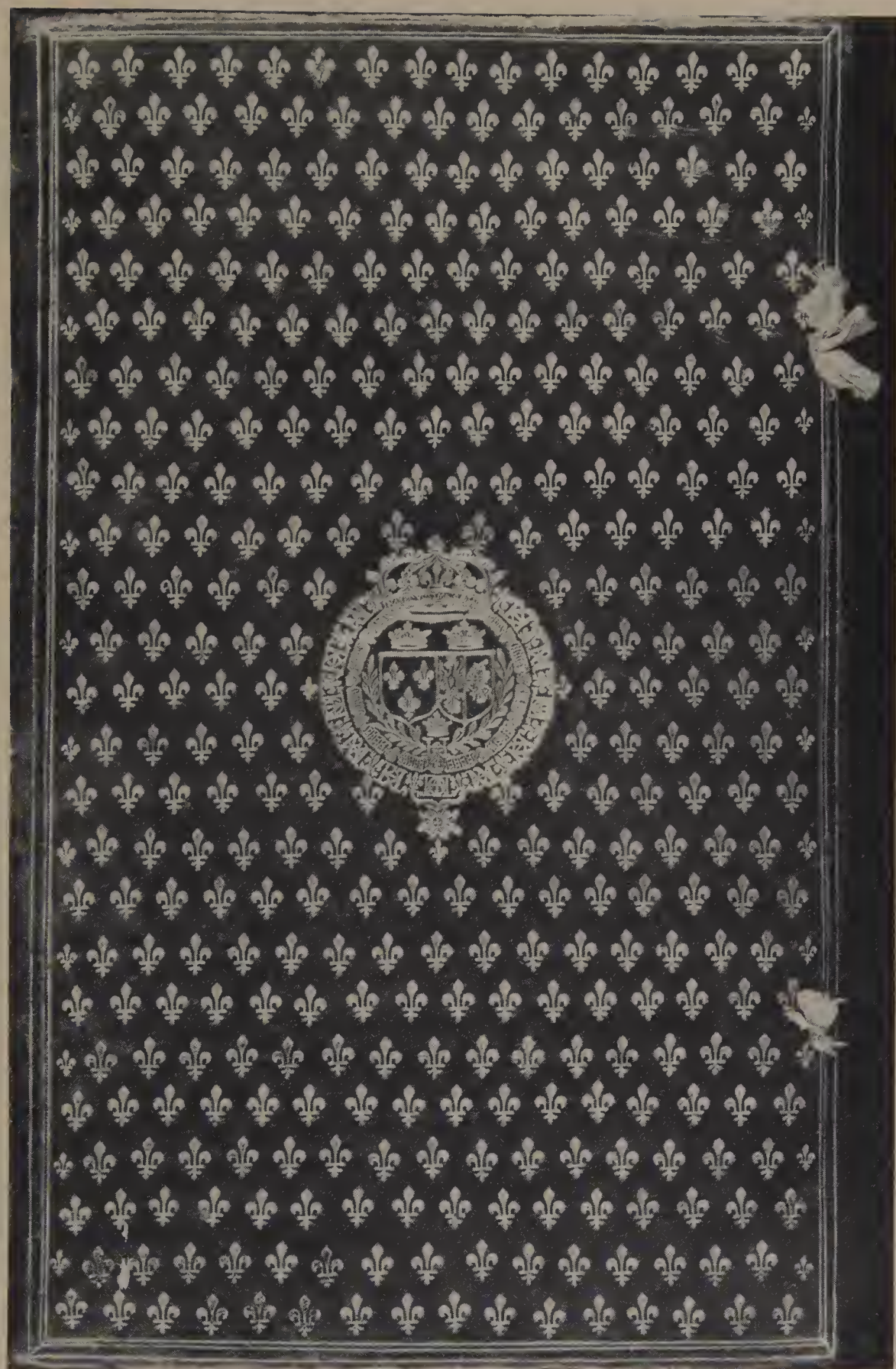
Jean Martin's translation into French of Vitruvius' *De architectura . . .*, published in a folio edition at Paris in 1547, was later completely replaced by that of Perrault published in 1684. The earlier edition of 1547 will, however, always be well regarded by collectors since the woodcuts relating to the art of masonry are the work of the celebrated Jean Goujon, and since he is the author of a *Dissertation sur l'architecture* which is appended at the end of the volume.

Additional sixteenth-century volumes of uncommon interest are *La Biblioth  que d'Antoine du Verdier* (Lyons, 1585), in a royal binding of Henry III [see illustration]; an elaborately illustrated volume entitled *Rerum praeclararum gestarum, intra et extra moenia munitissimae civitatis Viennensis* of Johannes Francolin (Vienna, 1560); the very rare *Dialoghi . . . sopra l'utili sue inventioni circa la seta* (Rome, 1588), an important book in the history of the making of silks, with a copperplate engraving of Pope Sixtus V; and the attractively illustrated *XXV. fables des animaux* of Estienne Perret (Antwerp, 1578) [see illustration].

This sixteenth-century section of the report concludes with the mention of a volume comprising two works by Paul Pfintzing von Henfenfeld, *Methodus geometriae das ist: kurtzer wolgegr  ndter unnd auzf  hrluher Tractat von der Fildtrechnung und Messung* and *Soli Deo gloria. Ein sch  ner kurtzer Extract der Geometriae und Perspectivae*. Printed at Nuremberg by Valentin Fuhrman, the illustrations in these two works are brilliantly colored and illuminated with gold. The original cuts are quite interesting but they have in this instance certainly been rendered more entertaining through the use of bright coloring.

Described as number one of the writings of Galileo Galilei in Pietro Riccardi's *Biblioteca matematica italiana* (Modena,





LA BIBLIOTHÈQUE D'ANTOINE DU VERDIER. Lyons, 1585. Rosenwald Collection. <sub>a</sub> Bound for Henry III.





*From Estienne Perret's XXV. FABLES DES ANIMAUX. Antwerp, 1578. Rosenwald Collection.*



1870) is the first published work of the noted scientist, *Le Operazioni del compasso geometrico, et militare*, printed in 1606 at Padova "in casa dell' autore per Piero Marinelli." It is an extremely rare book, for only 60 copies were printed in the original edition. We have located only two other copies, one in the University of Illinois and one in the British Museum.

In 1629 Pierre Rocolet printed at Paris Jean Baptiste de Machault's *Eloges et discours sur la triomphante reception du Roy [Louis XIII] en sa ville de Paris, apres la reduction de la Rochelle: accompagnez des figures, tant des arcs de triomphe, que des autres preparatifs*. This is a particularly welcome addition to the group of interesting volumes relating to royal receptions since one of the large illustrative plates is signed by Abraham Bosse. The engravers were Melchoir Tavernier and Pierre Firens. The present volume is bound in contemporary brown calf with fleurs-de-lys and Rocolet's device on the covers. An unusual and uncommon book on horsemanship is René de Menou's *La Pratique du chevalier, ou l'exercice de monter à cheval* (Paris, 1651).

One ordinarily would not expect to find early Mexican books in the Rosenwald Collection, but actually there are two, both of which contain woodcuts. The earlier is *Tripartito del Christianissimo y consolatorio doctor Juan Gerson de doctrina Christiana* printed in Mexico City in 1544. The other, recently acquired, is *Reglas, y constituciones, que han de guardar los señores inquisidores*. This was printed in Mexico City by the widow of Bernardo Calderon in 1659. Illustrated with three full-page woodcuts used merely as decoration, this copy agrees with the description of one in the John Carter Brown Library and of another in our possession.

Two acquisitions relate to important moments in the history of typography in the eighteenth century. One is Pierre

Simon Fournier, *le jeune's, Modèles des caractères de l'imprimerie* (Paris, 1742), described by the late Daniel Berkeley Updike in his *Printing Types* as "one of the most effective and elegant books of its kind ever issued in France." A few years later in 1771 a comparable specimen book, entitled *Essai d'une nouvelle typographie, ornée de vignettes*, was published at Paris by Jean Barbou, the same printer who prepared Fournier's *Modèles*. The author was Louis Luce, the third royal type cutter for the Imprimerie Royale. Mr. Updike devoted considerable detail to this volume of which he had a high opinion as the following excerpt from his book indicates:

His *Essai d'une Nouvelle Typographie* shows a superb collection of ornaments and borders made to accompany his types. These are designed with great skill from a decorative point of view, are wonderful in their variety, and yet harmonize with one another. No modern type-foundry has produced a more magnificent suite of appropriate and "printable" ornaments. They were made on all sorts of bodies, and were meant to take the place of engraved borders, which were then the fashion, but which were expensive, and, furthermore, involved two printings.

One of the exciting auction sales of the past season was that of the distinguished French library formed by the late Cortlandt F. Bishop which was sold at auction in New York at the Kende Galleries. Five of the titles in this sale were secured by Mr. Rosenwald. Since these are so well described in the sale catalog we need only mention them by entry and number: Number 129, Abbé Fromageot, *Annales du règne de Marie-Thérèse, Impératrice douairière, Reine de Hongrie . . .* (Paris, 1775); Number 162, Louis Eugène Lami, *Quadrille de Marie Stuart* (Paris, 1829); Number 234, Ovid, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide, en Latin et en François, de la traduction de M. l'Abbé Banier . . .* (Paris, 1767-71), an uncut copy with proofs of all vignettes; Number 261, François Ra-

belais, *Oeuvres de Maître François Rabelais, avec des remarques historiques et critiques de Mr. Le Duchat* (Amsterdam, 1741), with six of the original drawings by Du Bourg; and Number 274, *Représentation des fêtes données par la ville de Strasbourg pour la convalescence du Roi* (Paris, [1745]), in a red morocco signed binding by Padeloup.

Two late eighteenth-century volumes closely related to one another are John Stockdale's edition of *The Fables of Aesop* and *Fables by John Gay, with a Life of the Author*, both printed in 1793. The recently acquired copies are in the original boards. Mr. Rosenwald previously had copies of Gay's fables, since 12 of the plates are the work of William Blake, whose name also appears among the list of subscribers at the end of volume 2. An advertisement at the rear of this volume, dated February 2, 1793, announces *The Fables of Aesop* in the press and "speedily will be published" available to subscribers at "two Guineas in boards." The prospectus states that "This Work shall be carefully hot-pressed, and will be delivered in Boards, with silver Paper betwixt each Plate and the Letter-press, to prevent the one from injuring the beauty of the other." This statement accurately describes the pristine condition of both editions; the hot-pressing, however, with the passage of time has given to the letter-press a slightly scorched appearance. Although the Aesop is said to contain plates designed or engraved by Blake, this is not the case.

This report has of necessity omitted descriptions of a number of recent acquisitions. The volumes selected, however, as may be judged from the all too brief descriptions given here, serve well to indicate both the quality and character of the additions which further enhance the intrinsic merit and scholarly content of the Rosenwald Collection.

## Gifts of Mr. Leonard Kebler

The name of Mr. Leonard Kebler is one which must by now be well known to readers of the *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions*. His fine gifts of comprehensive sets of Cervantes, Dickens, and Washington Irving and selected editions of many other favorite authors have greatly enriched the quality of our literary collections. In volume his latest gifts surpass those of any preceding year, numbering about 150 fine editions of British and American writers, almost all encased in handsome solanders that show a true collector's regard for their care. Unfortunately this report can only touch on the more attractive single pieces of a gift that deserves a separate article of its own.

The English authors represented range from Jonathan Swift to Charles Darwin, beginning with a copy of Swift's witty and (to his contemporaries) disconcerting satire on religious pretension and pedantry, *A Tale of a Tub* (London, 1704). Last year we reported receiving a copy of this book (Teerink no. 217) through the Gabriel Wells bequest,<sup>1</sup> but bibliographical points about Mr. Kebler's volume make it, too, an attractive acquisition. There is also a first edition of *Baucis and Philemon* (London, 1709) in which Swift adapted a familiar story from Ovid as a vehicle for further thrusts at the weaknesses of his fellows (Teerink no. 521).

Mr. Kebler has given a particularly fine copy of Dr. Samuel Johnson's monumental *A Dictionary of the English Language* (2 vols., London, 1755) in its original binding, once a part of the celebrated Syston Park library. Hitherto the Library of Congress has had a first edition of the second volume only, and we are happy to place on our shelves this world-famous book "written,"

<sup>1</sup> *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions*, May 1948, p. 61.



as Johnson declared, "with little assistance of the learned, and without any patronage of the great . . . amidst inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and sorrow."

Another excellent piece of Johnsoniana is *The False Alarm* (London, 1770), in which Johnson defended the action of Parliament in refusing to seat the troublesome reformer John Wilkes. Mr. Kebler's copy is particularly interesting because it belonged to Johnson's good friend and admirer, Mrs. Thrale, whose characteristic marginalia appear occasionally throughout. There is also a first edition of Boswell's *Life* (2 vols., London, 1791), in an issue that is earlier than a copy the Library already possessed.

The English poets are represented by a first edition set of Byron's *Don Juan*, published in six parts at London between 1819 and 1824, and a copy of the first issue of *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* (London, 1809), in which he bitingly struck back at his critics. Shelley's *Posthumous Poems* (London, 1824), one of several books put out by Mary Shelley in defiance of his father's wish that the poet's name be erased from public memory, is present in a fine copy in the original drab gray boards with paper label. It corresponds with no. 78 in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the First Editions in Book Form of the Writings of Percy Bysshe Shelley* by Ruth S. Granniss (New York, 1923).

Complementing the sets of Dickens' works in their original parts which Mr. Kebler gave to the Library two years ago<sup>2</sup> are Thackeray's *The History of Pendennis* (London, 1849-50), *The Newcomes* (London, 1853-55), and *The Virginians* (London, 1857-59). The first two are in 23, the last in 24, numbers as they were issued, and all have the yellow pictorial paper wrappers. Hitherto the Library has had only *The Virginians* in this form.

Turning now to American authors, a distinctive portion of the Kebler gift is a set of no less than 16 first or early editions of the works of John Cotton (1584-1652), Puritan clergyman and Dean of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, who emigrated to New England and served for nearly twenty years as Teacher of the First Church in Boston. Cotton raised a strong voice in most of the theocratic controversies of his locality, and an admiring contemporary records that "in his Disputations [he] sought not his glory, but Gods truth."<sup>3</sup> With this addition to our collections, we now have 40 of the 77 early editions of Cotton's works listed in the Rev. Julius H. Tuttle's bibliography.<sup>4</sup>

One of the more significant pieces in this group of books is *An Abstract of the Lawes of New England, as They Are Now Established* (London, 1641), which Sabin (no. 17042) designates as "the first printed collection of laws for New England." Cotton drafted these stern regulations for the civil life of the Massachusetts colonists in 1636, documenting many of them with quotations from the Old Testament; sometimes Holy Writ was severely strained to achieve his object. Governor John Winthrop in his *Journal* described the "Lawes" as "a model of Moses his Judicials compiled in an exact method." The General Court of Massachusetts Bay rejected Cotton's proposals. Five years later it enacted a set of about a

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted from John Norton, *Abel Being Dead, Yet Speaketh* (London, 1658), the first of all American biographies, which also spoke of Cotton as "a man exceedingly loved and admired of the best, and revered of the worst of his hearers."

<sup>4</sup> "Writings of Rev. John Cotton," in *Bibliographical Essays; A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924). The books given by Mr. Kebler correspond to Tuttle nos. 1, 14, 15, 16, 23, 25, 28, 37, 55, 67, 72, and 76, plus later editions.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, May 1947, pp. 97-100.

hundred laws that had been drafted by Nathaniel Ward, who was later to achieve greater distinction as the author of *The Simple Cobler of Agawam*. An English printer somehow got hold of Cotton's rejected code and published it with the misleading title given above, which implied that it was actually in effect, and not only in Massachusetts Bay but in all of the New England Colonies! The misimpression was corrected in a later edition, published after Cotton's death under the title *An Abstract of Laws and Government* (London, 1655), a copy of which is also in the latest Kebler gift. Its compiler, William Aspinwall, opined regretfully of the General Court of Massachusetts Bay that "had they then had the heart to have received [Cotton's proposed laws] it might have been better both with them there, and us here, than now it is."<sup>5</sup>

Cotton's theological discourses were of course his pride and his principal legacy to the world. One of these in the Kebler gift is his first work to see print, a sermon entitled *God's Promise to His Plantation* (London, 1630), delivered at Southampton in the spring of 1630 to a large band of emigrants who, under the leadership of the celebrated John Winthrop, were about to embark on the *Arbella* to seek homes in the New World. Three years later Cotton himself went to join them. Among the more important productions of his later life that came in the Kebler gift are a copy of *The Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven* (London, 1644) which bears three separate signatures of the Rev. John Higginson of Salem together with many shorthand annotations, and the first edition of *The Bloudy Tenet, Washed, and Made White in the Bloud of the Lambe* (Lon-

don, 1647), in which Cotton joined battle with the redoubtable Roger Williams on civil and religious government.

Two theological discourses by the later John Cotton (1693–1757) have been added through the Kebler gift to our collection of early American imprints: *God's Awful Determination against a People, That Will Not Obey His Voice* (Boston, 1728; Evans 3015), a sermon inspired by "repeated shocks of the earthquake" from which he drew familiar lessons for the people of Boston, and the *Funeral Sermon* (Boston, 1729; Evans 3152) which he preached at Bristol after the death of Nathaniel Cotton on July 3, 1729.

Another welcome eighteenth-century book is an excellent copy of the useful *A Chronological History of New-England* (Boston, 1736; Evans 4068) by Thomas Prince, pastor of Boston's Old South Church. This is in the original binding and in generally better condition than the copies the Library already possessed. Prince's grandly conceived chronicle tried earnestly to link New England's evolution with the glories of the past but somehow became bogged down in earlier events and did not get beyond the 1630's; nevertheless it can be used with profit to supplement the writings of Bradford, Winthrop, and others in tracing the history of the first settlements in Massachusetts.

American nineteenth-century literature is richly spread forth in the Kebler gift by ten works of William Cullen Bryant, nine each of Oliver Wendell Holmes and James Russell Lowell, eight by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and the same number for John Greenleaf Whittier, six by Nathaniel Hawthorne, three each by Edgar Allan Poe and Stephen Crane, and two by Henry David Thoreau. Almost all of these are first editions and many of them are presentation or association copies, forming in the aggregate a most impressive literary gathering.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted from his prefatory comments. See also F. C. Gray, "Remarks on the Early Laws of Massachusetts," in *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Boston, 1843, third series, vol. VIII, pp. 191–99.



A few of the choicer pieces deserve mention here, as a suggestion of the quality of the whole.

Of four volumes by Whittier that bear inscriptions in the author's hand, the most interesting is a first edition of *Snow-bound* (Boston, 1866), his happy poetic backward glance at the winter scenes of his childhood. This is in a handsome binding of white cloth, one of perhaps half a dozen copies made up especially in this fashion, presumably for the author himself.

The selection of Oliver Wendell Holmes' works includes a single sheet on which is printed a "Hymn" of five stanzas which, according to an inscription by the author, was "Written for the Celebration in Boston of the passage of the Constitutional Amendment abolishing Slavery," that is, on February 4, 1865. Apparently it was prepared to be handed out to those attending the ceremony and it may have formed part of a program for that event. At any rate, it is an unusual and out-of-the-way addition to our Holmes ephemera. Of note also is a copy of his *Ralph Waldo Emerson* with a presentation inscription to Francis Jackson Garrison dated December 10, 1884, though the volume, according to common publishers' practice, is dated "1885" on the title page. It bears many small corrections throughout in Holmes' autograph.

Several of the books by James Russell Lowell are particularly attractive for their hints of associations with the author. A copy of *A Year's Life* (Boston, 1841), the first book to bear his own name on the title page, is, in fact, his personal copy, signed and corrected by him; and manuscript notes in a copy of *Poems . . . Second Series* (Cambridge, 1848) which he presented to George W. Richardson point to the fact that the verses entitled "Morning Glory" were written by his wife, the talented Maria White Lowell.

The story of how poorly Thoreau's first book, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (Boston and Cambridge, 1849) was received by the public when it first appeared is well known. One recalls the wry remark he jotted down in his diary four years after it issued from the press: "I have now a library of nearly 900 volumes, over 700 of which I wrote myself." A later generation has been more appreciative of its worth and copies of the first edition have become collectors' items. One is present in the Kebler gift, together with the first edition of his classic *Walden; or, Life in the Woods* (Boston, 1854). Last, but hardly least, there is the original manuscript [see illustration] of one of Thoreau's essays, a meditation on "Whether the Government ought to educate the children of those parents, who refuse to do it themselves." Sumptuously bound in red morocco and gilt by Sangorski and Sutcliffe, this three-page holograph has an endorsement placing its date of composition some time in October 1836. One can easily see Thoreau's mind at work in the exposition of his thesis:

I maintain that the Government ought to provide for the education of all children who would otherwise be brought up, or rather grow up, in ignorance.

In the first place the welfare of the individual, and in the second that of the community, demand it . . .

### Other Acquisitions

In closing, we note briefly some of the additions to the special collections in the Rare Books Division's custody, hoping that this will suffice to convey to the reader an idea of the many pieces that cannot be individually described.

To the eighteenth-century newspaper collection was added Volume I of *The Public Register; or, the Freeman's Journal*, containing 104 numbers, printed twice a week at Dublin from September 10, 1763

to September 4, 1764. Much of its matter concerns local politics, and the viewpoint of its proprietors is summed up in the first issue:

EVERY MAN, by common Right, hath a Person, a Character, and a Property to defend: And, should any of these be invaded, our Laws offer to the injured Party a *Freedom of Action*; and we hereby offer him a *Freedom of Complaint* . . .

*La Décade égyptienne, Journal littéraire et d'économie politique* is the title of an interesting French-language magazine published at Cairo during the period when Napoleon's attention was considerably engaged with Egypt. It aimed to be a purely literary journal without political discussion, which would present scholarly reports on the sciences, the arts, commerce, civil and criminal legislation, and moral or religious institutions. The Library has acquired a set of three volumes bound in one, covering the period 1798–1800.

Two time-worn folio manuscript volumes showing titles of copyright deposits periodically received at the Smithsonian Institution between February 15, 1849 and December 14, 1858, have been transferred to join our large collection of early copyright records. They had long been believed destroyed in the disastrous fire that swept the Smithsonian building in 1865, but a happy chance recently turned them up.

The personal library of President Woodrow Wilson, consisting of some 9,000 books and memorabilia, has been placed in the Rare Books Division's custody. It is housed in a special memorial room which

was formally dedicated on January 8, 1949. A description of the contents of the library appeared in this *Journal* (Nov. 1946, pp. 2–6) shortly after it was originally received. Recently Mrs. Woodrow Wilson added several volumes to the library, one of which is a Presidential association copy of most unusual interest—the first of the eight volumes of Oliver Goldsmith's *A History of the Earth, and Animated Nature* (2d. ed., London, 1779), from the library of George Washington, with Washington's bold signature on the title page and his bookplate on the inner cover.

According to the inventory of Washington's books in *A Catalogue of the Washington Collection in the Boston Athenaeum* (Boston, 1897, p. 550), the eight volumes of the original set were dispersed some time after 1891, and the late Oscar S. Straus became the possessor of volumes I–IV. Volume I was presented by the lawyer-diplomat to Wilson on December 20, 1917, in token of admiration and as a symbol of the responsibility for the Nation's affairs that other Presidents had passed down to him.

In the separate article on "Americana" which will be found elsewhere in this issue of the *Quarterly Journal* the reader will learn of a considerable number of other fine pieces acquired by the Library during the year.

FREDERICK R. GOFF  
Chief, Rare Books Division  
VINCENT L. EATON  
Assistant Chief,  
Rare Books Division



Whether the Government ought to educate the  
children of those parents, who refuse to do it them-  
selves—

I maintain that the Government ought  
to provide for the education of all children  
who would otherwise be brought up, or rather grow  
up, in ignorance.

In the first place the welfare of the individual,  
and in the second that of the community, demand  
it. It is assumed the duty of the parent to  
educate, as it is to feed and clothe the child.  
For as what I would ask, depends on this last duty?  
Why is the child to be fed and clothed, if not to  
enable him to receive and make a proper use  
of — and education? and education which he  
is no better able to obtain for himself, than  
he is to supply his physical wants. Indeed the  
culture of the physical is important only so far as  
it is subservient to that of the intellectual man.  
No one disputes this. Should then poverty  
or neglect threaten to rob the child of this













## SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

### ADMINISTRATIVE

The Constitution of the United States, together with an Account of Its Travels Since September 17, 1787. Compiled by David C. Mearns and Verner W. Clapp. 4th ed. (unrevised). 44p. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Price 15 cents.

### AERONAUTICS DIVISION

Aviation History, 1903 to 1960. An address by John K. Northrup; Introductory remarks by S. Paul Johnston. 21p. Furnished on request.

### CENSUS LIBRARY PROJECT

National Censuses and Vital Statistics in Europe, 1940-1948 Supplement: An Annotated Bibliography. Prepared by Henry J. Dubester. 48 p. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Price 15 cents.

### COPYRIGHT OFFICE

Copyright Law of the United States of America. (Bulletin No. 14 of the Copyright Office) 1948 ed. 40 p. For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Price 15 cents.

### DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGING DIVISION

Final Report on the Rules for Descriptive Cataloging in the Library of Congress. Adopted at the Annual Business Meeting of the American Library Association's Division of Cataloging and Classification at the Atlantic City Conference, June 16, 1948. 34 p. Furnished on request to the Card Division, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C.

### EUROPEAN AFFAIRS DIVISION

The United States and Postwar Europe. A bibliographical examination of thought expressed in American publications during 1948. Prepared by the European Affairs Division. 123 p. Processed. For sale by the Card Division, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C. Price 80 cents.

### GENERAL REFERENCE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY DIVISION

Presidential Inaugurations: A Selected List of References. 58 p. Multilithed. For sale by the Card Division, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C. Price 40 cents.

Sources of Information for Fundamental Education with Special Reference to Education for Literacy: A Preliminary Report. By Katharine Oliver Murra. 123p. Multilithed. Distribution restricted.

### LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE

Anti-Discrimination Legislation in the American States. By W. Brooke Graves. (Public Affairs Bulletin No. 65.) 92p. Multilithed. For sale by the Card Division, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C. Price 60 cents.

### SUBJECT CATALOGING DIVISION

Classification. Class K. Law. Prepared by Elizabeth V. Benyon, Senior Assistant in Charge of Preparations, the Law Library, the University of Chicago. Printed as manuscript. 172 p. Distribution restricted.

### SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY PROJECT

List of Subject Headings Issued for the Office of Naval Research under Contract NAonr 13-47. 172 p. For sale by the Card Division, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C. Price \$1.15 per copy.